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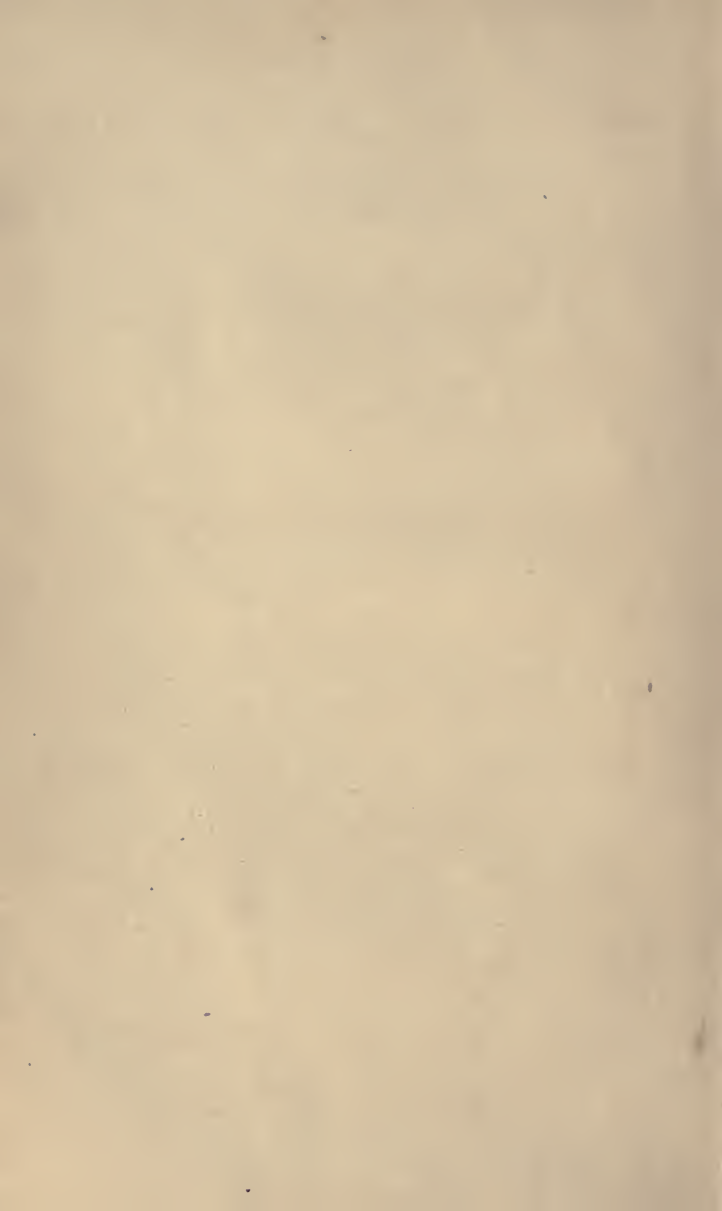


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C. B. Faleworth

DOES THE EPISCOPAL CHURCH TEACH

THE

EXCLUSIVE VALIDITY

OF

ITS OWN ORDERS?

BY

THE REV. WILLIAM GOODE, M.A.

||



NEW-YORK:

PROTESTANT EPISCOPAL SOCIETY FOR THE PROMOTION OF
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ADVERTISEMENT.

IN the year 1851, a member of the Tractarian party who had joined the Church of Rome, addressed a note, under a false name, to the Archbishop of Canterbury, requesting an expression of his opinion on the subject discussed in the following tract.

The Archbishop's reply, in which he repudiated the notion of the exclusive validity of Episcopal orders, was immediately published, with the view of bringing upon the writer the odium of the Tractarian party.

This result of course followed; and the Archbishop was assailed with the rudeness and violence which so often mark the controversies of parties conscious of their weakness.

The Archbishop, of course, could not reply to such assaults from such a quarter; but the cause of truth has derived this signal advantage from them: the calling out of the Rev. and learned William Goode, author of the works on the Rule of Faith, Baptism, and the Eucharist. Mr. Goode submitted, in the *Christian Observer* for November, 1851, his "Vindication of the Doctrine of the Church of England on the validity of the Orders of the Scotch and Foreign Non-Episcopal Churches," which not only vindicated the Archbishop, but placed upon impregnable ground before the public that whole class of Churchmen, including, as Mr. Goode asserts, "at least seven tenths of the Clergy of the English Church," and more than nineteen twen-

tieths of the Laity who agree with the Primate, many of whom, though not doubting the truth of their position, were unaware of the full extent of the proofs which support it.

It was at once perceived that unless this argument could be overthrown, the cause of the High Church party, on the score of church authority, was lost. His work was therefore attacked with still greater asperity by the Bishop of Exeter, Archdeacon Churton, and others deemed best qualified for the task; to all of whom Mr. Goode replied, substantiating every position he had taken by an array of historical proofs which puts the question beyond the reach of further candid dispute. In the course of the controversy, the fact came out that the advocates of exclusiveness—even the most prominent of them, to whose claim to superior learning the world had been accustomed to defer—*were exceedingly ill-informed* of the facts which are decisive in the argument. This was candidly admitted by Mr. Maskell, the Bishop of Exeter's Chaplain, who said that the facts were new to him, that they were incontrovertible, and so contrary to what he had been led to suppose from the positive assertions of his party, that, with his views, he could no longer, with any consciousness of integrity, remain in the Church. He therefore seceded to the Church of Rome, declaring it impossible to deny that the *authorities* of the Church were with not only the merely *Protestant*, but with the "Evangelical" portion of it.

The following tract is a condensed statement of Mr. Goode's argument, as contained in the works above referred to, with an introduction, notes, and other original matter. Its plan has been submitted to Mr. Goode, and meets his approval—although, of course, he is not responsible for any thing here which is not found in the larger work republished in this country in 1853.

INTRODUCTION.

THIS tract is issued from the conviction that there can be no end of controversy in the Episcopal Church so long as the point which it discusses remains unsettled. Whatever compromises may be effected, they will be only temporary, or as a truce, so long as room is left for candid minds to doubt whether the Church itself does not teach the exclusive validity of its own orders.

In order to a clearer comprehension of the whole subject, the following summary of points is submitted :

1. The doctrine of the Church of England and of our own upon the question in debate being identical, whatever settles it for one settles it for both.

2. The preface to the Ordinal says : " It is evident unto all men diligently reading Holy Scripture and ancient authors, that from the apostles' time there have been these orders," etc.

3. While the Evangelical portion of the Episcopal Church might not be prepared to pronounce upon the diligence of those readers who have failed to see this, it is evident to themselves, first, " from Holy Scripture," that the Church, as constituted by the apostles, had officers who exercised substantially the same powers as

those exercised by our present bishops; and, second, from "ancient authors," it is evident to them that these orders have been *continued* in the Church from the apostles' time, and they accept these facts as adequate to the purpose for which they were cited—namely, a full authorization of an Episcopal ministry. But,

4. The theory of "apostolical succession" as known in controversy, goes far beyond this, (and raises Episcopacy to a level with things positively commanded, such as baptism and the Lord's supper; so that without it there can be no valid ministry and no valid sacraments, and no body of professed Christians which has it not can form any part of that Church to which the promises are made in Scripture.) It holds farther that any broken link in this personal and tactual succession of bishops, whether known or unknown, would be fatal to all Church character thereafter.

5. Those and those only who hold this theory are, strictly speaking, *High Churchmen*, and it was to the holders of it exclusively that the term was originally applied.

6. The term is often used in a looser sense, and applied to those who attach great importance to her minor observances, and are rigid in their observance of its rubrics and forms, but who, nevertheless, repudiate altogether the notion of the exclusive validity of Episcopal orders. In this larger but less accurate sense it is sometimes employed by Mr. Goode, as when he applies it to Cosin Bancroft and others, but in this reprint it is applied only to those who hold the theory of "exclusive validity." It may also be added that the definition given above is approved by Mr. Goode himself.

7. The "Low Church" view is, (that Episcopacy has apostolic precedent, but not apostolic command.) Those

who accept this view take the precedent to be binding upon themselves, and think it should be held binding by all. But (to use the language of the old divines) they do not believe Episcopacy to be essential to the *being* of a church, but only to its *better being*. Had the theory of the "apostolical succession" been true, with all the consequences which flow from it, they think it could not have been left without some divine command.

8. For the *use* of these terms, it is a sufficient reason that it would be impossible to discuss the important doctrines which they represent without them, or some more cumbrous forms of speech which, nevertheless, must be made to mean precisely the same things. It is important, also, in such discussions, to aim at exactness of definition, not only for the more easy and certain ascertainment of truth, but to prevent the parties whose views are controverted from thinking themselves misunderstood or wronged.

9. While the theory of the "apostolical succession" was not universally held in the Church of Rome itself before the Reformation, no trace of it is to be found in the Church of England until the time of Archbishop Laud, who was the first to introduce it. The attempt to enforce it, with its associated political system, overthrew both the Church and the State, and finally proved fatal to the house of Stuart, who were the blind votaries of both.

10. Connected with the theory of the "apostolical succession," and growing out of it, there is commonly found a theory of regeneration and its related doctrines incompatible with the doctrine of justification by faith; and hence results a system which is anti-evangelical—generally in terms, and always in its tendencies and spirit.

11. The theory of the "apostolical succession," with its inevitable and often admitted consequences, brings those who hold it into direct and irreconcilable conflict with the facts of God's providence—such, for example, as the fruits of the Spirit existing outside of this succession for three hundred years without diminution of amount or quality.

12. If the theory of the "apostolical succession" be taught in Scripture, it justly unchurches a very large proportion of Protestant Christendom. If it be held by the Church of England, she also necessarily excommunicates all other Protestant churches so called—not only those in Great Britain and Ireland, but all the churches of the Reformation in Germany, Holland, France, and Switzerland. But if the Bible does not teach it, it is monstrous in men to invent it; and if the Church of England does not teach it, then those who have propounded and pressed it as hers are responsible for that uninterrupted succession of war which it has produced, not only between Episcopalians and all other Protestants, but among Episcopalians themselves. The holders of this theory are, moreover, as has been well remarked, challenged by every law of consistency to take their places as spectators, while those whom it casts out of the Church and out of the covenant—such as Luther and Baxter, Brainerd and Jonathan Edwards—are sent down alive into the pit.

13. It will not probably be contended that the great mass of the people in the Episcopal Church are, or ever have been, High Churchmen. It is certain that the proportion of those holding this extreme theory never has been relatively so small, since the revolution of 1688, as it is now; and hence, from the ill-success of its advocates in teaching it even in their own Church, it might

be supposed they would be utterly discouraged, even if they do not see by this time the impossibility of making it a condition of all Christian progress.

14. There is a tendency in all independent churches seeking to occupy the same ground, to magnify the peculiarities which distinguish them, especially on the part of their officers, whose interests are more immediately connected with the favor with which those peculiarities are received.

15. Uncharitableness is no less a sin in Episcopalians, because they are themselves its victims at the hands of others; and as a warning against those tempers and condemnatory judgments to which extreme opinions tend in the quarrels which they produce, let it be remembered that it is in their reflex bearing alone that such judgments become absolutely determinative. "It is when taken in this light that every sentence tells; nor could eternal justice itself ask for evidence more conclusive than that which is comprised in the deliberately pronounced opinions which we form or assent to when other men are judged. We decide, in each instance, according to our own dispositions, principles, and moral condition."

16. High Churchism was the sin of the Puritans, who equalled Laud in denominational intolerance. Presbytery was of divine right, in the most exclusive sense. Every thing but Presbytery was "Antichrist." But having nothing in Scripture or history to sustain such a theory, and no earthly interests conspiring to keep it up, they soon fell a prey to the reactions which it produced.

17. If it be alleged that the theory of "exclusive validity" is the safer theory for the conservation of the Church, as more certainly insuring a devotion to its

interests, it is denied both on theoretical and historic grounds ; for,

(1.) The safety of the Church of England, as a Protestant Church, must depend upon its being kept upon the broad Protestant foundation on which the Reformers placed it. The danger results from narrowing the base and elevating the structure after the manner of the obelisks which are prostrated while the pyramids remain.

(2.) Nearly every secession from the Church—as many as forty to one—has been from the ranks of those who held the theory of “apostolical succession” in the most exclusive sense, while those repudiating this theory have chiefly furnished the men whose labors have given extension to the Church, promoted its spiritual life, attached the masses of the people to it, irrespective of merely eleemosynary establishments at home, and exclusively those who have propagated it, in connection with the Gospel, in heathen lands.

18. The Reformed Churches on the Continent being, from their geographical position, most exposed in the conflict with Rome, had a rightful claim to the sympathy and coöperation of the Reformed Church of England, which was providentially the best secured and most powerful of them all.

19. This sympathy was extended, to the great benefit of England herself, until the time of Laud. It was reëxtended by the Church of the Commonwealth, not only to the terror of the “bloody Piedmontese,” but of every papal throne in Europe. It was again withdrawn at the Restoration, partially restored at the Revolution of 1688, and now is but feebly felt, when the Protestant interests of the Church of England itself demand that it be vigorous and unremitted.

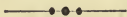
20. The Episcopal Church, in its doctrine, discipline, and worship, is firmly seated in the judgment and affections of its Evangelical members, probably never so much so as at present. This Church has an illustrious *past*—taken *now* in its totality, it is by far the most powerful of the churches of the Reformation. Its *future*, if faithful to its constitution, will be still more illustrious in the work of evangelizing the world. In this work it has capabilities sufficient to engross all the powers of its members, without diminishing aught, either in theory or in action, from what is being done by other Christians in the same work.

21. In view of the whole state of the Christian interest and the signs of the times, it was never a question of such urgent practical importance as now—not what peculiarities of the different Protestant churches, as such, may be yielded, in order to their fusion into one, but what are the dogmas and tempers in each which produce discord and weakness among themselves, needlessly alienate them from one another, and so prevent them from bearing down, with united force, upon the very body of sin and death as exhibited in the forms of Romanism, Rationalism, and Paganism.





THE DOCTRINE, ETC.



THE present question is simply this—whether it is a doctrine of the Church of England that Episcopal ordination is a *sine qua non* to constitute a valid Christian ministry? In order to a true answer we must examine

- I. *The Articles and other formularies which relate to it taken in their literal sense.*
- II. *The opinions of those who drew up these standards, as ascertained by their other writings, to be taken as guides to the sense in which they intended those standards to be received, as also the opinions of the leading divines of the Church onward for a hundred years.*
- III. *The PRACTICE of the Church for a similar period, as a further guide to the true interpretation of the standards.*

I. *The Articles and other formularies.* The 23d Article reads as follows: "It is not lawful for any man to take upon him the office of public preaching or ministering the sacraments in the congregation, before he be lawfully called and sent to execute the same; and those we ought to judge lawfully called and sent which be chosen and called to this work by men who have public authority given unto them *in the congre-*

gation to call and send ministers into the Lord's vineyard."

It must be observed how carefully this is worded, so as not to limit a lawful ministry to those who have Episcopal ordination, and it is hardly possible for one acquainted with the circumstances of the times in which it was written to read it and not see that this carefulness was for the very purpose of not excluding the ministry of the Foreign Non-Episcopal Churches.

But a more authentic interpretation of this Article can hardly be conceived than that given by Thomas Rogers, chaplain to Archbishop Bancroft, in his *Exposition of the Articles*, published in 1607, as "perused, and by the lawful authority of the Church of England allowed to be public," and which the Archbishop ordered all the parishes in his province to supply themselves with. He deduces from the Article the six following propositions:

"1. None publicly may preach but such as thereunto are authorized. 2. They must not be silent who by office are bound to preach. 3. The sacraments may not be administered in the congregation but by a lawful minister. 4. There is a lawful ministry in the Church. 5. They are lawful ministers which be ordained by men lawfully appointed to the calling and sending forth of ministers. 6. Before ministers are to be ordained, they are to be chosen and called."

And then, proceeding to point out the testimonies we have in favor of the truth of these propositions, he observes upon each, as he comes to it, that the Foreign Reformed Churches maintain it. On the first, "All this is acknowledged by the Reformed Churches;" referring to the Helvetic, Bohemic, French, and

other Confessions. On the second: "Hereunto bear witness all the Churches of God which be purged from superstition and errors;" referring to the same Confessions. On the third: "Hereunto do the Churches of God subscribe;" referring to the same Confessions. On the fourth: "A truth also approved by the Churches;" referring to the same Confessions. On the fifth: "So testify with us the true Churches elsewhere in the world;" referring to the same Confessions. On the sixth: "And this do the Churches Protestant by their Confessions approve;" referring to the same Confessions.*

And this is not only a testimony as to the meaning of the Article, but as to the light in which the Foreign Non-Episcopal Churches were then regarded by the authorities of our Church, even by Archbishop Bancroft.

Proceeding to a later period, we find Bishop Burnet thus commenting on this Article:

"If a company of Christians find the public worship where they live to be so defiled that they can not with a good conscience join in it, and if they do not know of any place to which they can conveniently go, where they may worship God purely and in a regular way; if, I say, such a body, finding some that have been ordained, though to the lower functions, should submit itself entirely to their conduct, or finding none of those, should by a common consent desire some of their own number to minister to them in holy things, and should upon that beginning grow up to a regulated constitution, though we are very sure that this is quite out of all rule, and could not be done

* "The Faith, Doctrine, and Religion, &c., expressed in 39 Articles, &c.; the said Articles analyzed into propositions, and the propositions proved to be agreeable both to the written word of God and to the extant Confessions of all the neighbor Churches Christianly reformed." 1607. 4to.

without a very great sin, unless the necessity were great and apparent; yet if the necessity is real and not feigned, this is not condemned or annulled by the Article; for when this grows to a constitution, and when it was begun by the consent of a Body, who are supposed to have an authority in such an extraordinary case, *whatever some hotter spirits have thought of this since that time, yet we are very sure, that not only those who penned the Articles, but the Body of this Church for above half an age after, did, notwithstanding those irregularities, acknowledge the Foreign Churches, so constituted, to be true Churches as to all the essentials of a Church, though they had been at first irregularly formed, and continued still to be in an imperfect state. And therefore the general words in which this part of the Article is framed, seem to have been designed on purpose not to exclude them.*" (Burnet's *Exposition of the XXXIX. Articles*, 5th ed. 1746.)

And Professor Hey justly remarks, that the expression, "who have public authority given unto them in the congregation," "seems to leave the *manner* of giving the power of ordaining quite free: it seems as if any religious society might, consistently with this Article, appoint officers, with power of ordination, by election, representation, or lot; as if, therefore, the right to ordain did not depend upon any uninterrupted *succession*." (*Lectures in Divinity*, 2d ed. 1822, vol. iv. p. 166.)

The same view is taken of the meaning of this Article by Bishop Tomline, ordinarily considered a sufficiently high churchman. (*Expos. of Art.* ed. 1799, p. 376.)

It is quite clear that the words of the Article do not maintain the necessity of Episcopal ordination; and consequently, as the object of the Article is to show the doctrine of the Church of England on the

subject, it can not be said that the Church of England maintains it. No one, therefore, has a right to put forth such a doctrine as the doctrine of the Church of England.

This is the only place in which our Church touches the question of ordination in the abstract; and we see that it is carefully worded, so as to be consistent with the constitution of the Foreign Reformed Churches. We shall see hereafter whether the contemporary interpretation of the Article does not entirely accord with that given above.

The PREFACE TO THE ORDINATION SERVICE reads as follows:

“It is evident unto all men, dilligently reading Holy Scripture and ancient Authors, that, from the Apostles’ time, there have been these Orders of Ministers in Christ’s Church—Bishops, Priests, and Deacons. Which Offices were evermore had in such reverend Estimation, that no man might presume to execute any of them, except he were first called, tried, examined, and known to have such qualities as are requisite for the same; and also by public Prayer, with Imposition of Hands, were approved and admitted thereunto by lawful Authority. And therefore to the intent that these Orders may be continued, and reverently used and esteemed in this Church, no man shall be accounted or taken to be a lawful Bishop, Priest, or Deacon, in this Church, or suffered to execute any of the said Functions, except he be called, tried, examined, and admitted thereunto, according to the form hereafter following, *or hath had Episcopal Consecration or Ordination.*”

Much stress is laid upon this Preface, and it is quoted as the Church’s declaration of the invalidity of Non-Episcopal orders. But it is not pretended that the language itself contains any such declaration. It is an inference. Such a notion it is said must have

been in the minds of the framers. Yet it has been shown again and again that no such notion could by any possibility have been in the minds of the framers, insomuch that we can not suppress our amazement that intelligent controversialists should continue to quote it. The first part is the simple statement of a fact, without intent on the part of the authors to pass upon other forms of government, but as giving a sufficient warrant for their own.

The second part, "or hath had Episcopal consecration," etc., was not added until a hundred years after, that is to say in 1661, by the Laudean party under Charles II. But even this goes no further than to make Episcopal orders necessary for serving in an Episcopal Church, (which is manifestly proper,) those having only Presbyterian orders having previously ministered in the Church of England. That the Laudean divines did personally entertain these exclusive views is certain, but it is equally certain that they could have procured no judgment to be passed by the legislature upon the character of the Foreign Churches or the validity of their orders, nor does it appear that they attempted it.

We are therefore unable to understand the following remarks in a note in the Bishop of London's (the late Bishop Blomfield's) sermons on the Church. His Lordship says:

"Our Reformers, in the Book of Consecration, approved in the 36th Article, *insist strongly on the necessity of Episcopal ordination*, a point which, as Bishop Sanderson says, 'has been constantly and uniformly maintained by our best writers, and by all the sober, orderly, and orthodox sons of the Church;' but they do not presume

to say that it is impossible, under any circumstances, for a Church to exist without it. We may, however, set their formal approval of the Consecration Book against the private opinions of Archbishop Cranmer, in his answers to the ninth question concerning church government." (P. 62.)

Now the simple fact is, that there is not one word about "the necessity of Episcopal ordination" in that book, as drawn up by the Reformers, and sanctioned by the Article. The words that relate to that point were not inserted in the book until the review in the time of Charles II., and then refer only to the ministry of the Church of England. They do not declare the necessity of Episcopal ordination to any valid ministry; nor (we think) does Bishop Sanderson. Consequently, the last observation falls to the ground; and we may observe, that "the private opinions of Archbishop Cranmer" on the point, as shown in his Answers (not to the ninth, but) to the tenth and eleventh Questions on Church Government, were shared with him, *sufficiently for our present purpose*, by many others of the leading divines of his day.

But still farther; by the 55th Canon of 1604, all our clergy are required, in the bidding prayer before, or rather in the commencement of the sermon, to pray for "the Church of Scotland." Now the Church of Scotland, at the time this canon was passed, was Presbyterian, as it now is. And, consequently, the very men who are now protesting against the recognition of any ordinations as valid but Episcopal, and contending that it is the doctrine of our Church that there is no such thing as a valid ministry but through an apostolically descended episcopate, are by canon

bound solemnly to recognize in their prayers every Sunday the existence of a valid ministry without any such ordination. For a prayer for the Presbyterian "Church of Scotland" clearly involves such a recognition.

Some of her majesty's predecessors have occasionally ordered this canon to be observed. It would be but a fair return (though we are far from desiring it) for the remarks in which certain parties are often indulging themselves, that they should be favored with a similar order. They are very fond of appealing to rubrics and canons, when they suit their purpose; and none, we will venture to say, would be more unwilling, consistently and impartially, to carry them out into practice.*

II. We come now to the ground taken on this subject by our early divines. This, in the absence of any definite statement on the subject in our Formularies, is clearly the best indication we can have of the mind of our Church respecting it, and of the meaning of any indirect notices touching it in our authoritative documents.

Let us first hear what Mr. Keble himself is compelled to admit on this point. Thus he writes:

"Since the Episcopal succession had been so carefully retained in the Church of England, and so much anxiety evinced to render both her Liturgy and Ordination services strictly conformable to the rules and doctrines of antiquity, it might have been expected, that the defenders of the English hierarchy against the first Puritans should take the highest ground, and challenge for the bishops the same unreserv-

* For a further examination of the doctrine of the Article see Appendix A.

ed submission, on the same plea of exclusive apostolic prerogative, which their adversaries feared not to insist on for their elders and deacons. It is notorious, however, that such was not in general the line preferred [it was never adopted, as is *confessed* presently] by Jewel, Whitgift, Bishop Cooper, and others, to whom the management of that controversy was intrusted during the early part of Elizabeth's reign. They do not expressly disavow, but they carefully shun, that unreserved appeal to Christian antiquity, in which one would have thought they must have discerned the very strength of their cause to lie. It is enough, with them, to show that the government by archbishops and bishops is ancient and allowable; they never venture to urge its *exclusive* claim, or to connect the succession with the validity of the holy sacraments; and yet it is obvious, that such a course of argument alone (supposing it borne out by facts) could fully meet all the exigencies of the case. It must have occurred to the learned writers above mentioned, since it was the received doctrine of the Church down to their days; and if they had disapproved it, as some theologians of no small renown have since done, it seems unlikely that they should have passed it over without some express avowal of dissent; considering that they always wrote with an eye to the pretensions of Rome also, which popular opinion had in a great degree mixed up with this doctrine of apostolical succession."

. . . . "Farther, it is obvious that those divines in particular who had been instrumental but a little before in the second change of the Liturgy in King Edward's time, must have felt themselves in some measure restrained from pressing with its entire force the ecclesiastical tradition on church government and orders, inasmuch as in the aforesaid revision they had given up altogether the same tradition, regarding certain very material points in the celebration, if not in the doctrine, of the holy Eucharist. . . . It should seem that those who were responsible for these omissions must have felt themselves precluded, ever after, from urging the necessity of Episcopacy, or of any thing else, on the ground of uniform Church tradition."*

Such a passage as this presents many topics for remark; and we may observe, in passing, that the doc-

* Keble's Pref. to Hooker, pp. lix.—lxii.

trine of the necessity of Episcopacy seems to be confessedly rested on *tradition*. But the object for which we have quoted it, is to show the difficulties in which Mr. Keble confessedly finds himself involved in dealing with the views of our early divines on this subject. He admits, that they "never venture to urge the *exclusive* claim of the government by archbishops and bishops, or to connect the succession with the validity of the holy sacraments." But then it is hinted that they *may* have held it, because they have not given an "express avowal of dissent" from it.

Now we hope our readers have too good an opinion of the honesty and fair dealing of those venerable men, not to feel assured, that, if they had held the doctrine of the absolute necessity of the Episcopal form of church government, they would have said so. Can we suppose that, in the midst of that intimate intercourse and communion they maintained with the Foreign Non-Episcopal Churches, they would never have admonished them of the fatal effect which their want of the Episcopal form of church government entailed upon their ministrations? Would they have acknowledged their ministers in the way they did, as fellow-laborers in the Church of Christ?

But in fact we shall find, from their own words, that they *do*, virtually at least, if not more expressly, *disavow* the doctrine advocated by Mr. Keble and his party. There was no necessity, at a time when no one in our Church thought of upholding such a doctrine, for them to write formally and expressly against it. But they do *disavow* such a notion, writing in a way irreconcilable with their holding it. And we

must add farther, that it will be found that the authors whom Mr. Keble quotes as having first advocated his exclusive doctrine in our Church, bear witness against it.

Having thus seen how much our opponents are compelled to concede, let us proceed to consider the following testimonies :

And we may notice, first, that even in the time of Henry VIII., at the very dawn of the Reformation, the bishops and clergy of our Church put forth a document containing the very doctrine on which the validity of Presbyterian ordinations has been chiefly rested, namely, the parity of bishops and presbyters, with respect to the ministerial powers, essentially and by right belonging to them. In the *Institution of a Christian Man*, put forth by the bishops and clergy in 1537, we read as follows :

“As touching the sacrament of holy orders, we think it convenient that all bishops and preachers shall instruct and teach the people committed unto their spiritual charge, first, how that Christ and His apostles did institute and ordain, in the New Testament, that besides the civil powers and governance of kings and princes, (which is called *potestas gladii*, the power of the sword,) there should also be continually in the Church militant certain other ministers or officers, which should have special power, authority, and commission, under Christ, to preach and teach the word of God unto His people ; to dispense and administer the sacraments of God unto them,” etc. etc.

“That this office, this power and authority, was committed and given by Christ and His apostles unto certain persons only, that is to say, unto priests or bishops, whom they did elect, call, and admit thereunto, by their prayer and imposition of their hands.”

And, speaking of “the Sacrament of Orders” to be administered by the bishop, it observes, when noticing

the various orders in the Church of Rome: "*The truth is, that in the New Testament there is no mention made of any degrees or distinctions in orders, but only of deacons or ministers, and of priests or bishops.*" And throughout, when speaking of the jurisdiction and other privileges belonging to the ministry, it speaks of them as belonging to "priests and bishops."

Again, in the revision of this work set forth by the king in 1543, entitled *A Necessary Doctrine and Eru- dition for any Christian Man*, in the chapter on "the Sacrament of Orders," priests and bishops are spoken of as of the same order. For after having spoken of Timothy being "ordered and consecrated priest" by St. Paul, and remarked, "whereby it appeareth that St. Paul did consecrate and order priests and bishops by the imposition of his hands; and as the apostles themselves, in the beginning of the Church, did order priests and bishops, so they appointed and willed the other bishops after them to do the like, as St. Paul manifestly showeth, in his Epistle to Titus, saying, etc., and to Timothy, etc.;" it subjoins, shortly after: "Of these two orders only, that is to say, priests and deacons, Scripture maketh express mention, and how they were conferred of the apostles by prayer and imposition of their hands."*

Now this view certainly goes far to remove the difficulty as to recognizing the validity of Presbyterian ordination in the absence of bishops; and this view we see was entertained by the leading bishops and clergy in this country at the very dawn of the Re-

* See *Formularies of Faith*, etc. pp. 101, 105, 278, 281. Oxford, 1825.

formation; and those who are at all acquainted with Ecclesiastical history, know that this view had long been advocated by many of the divines of the Church of Rome, especially among the scholastic divines, including their great founder, Peter Lombard, the Master of the Sentences.

Our opponents are fond of speaking of these early documents, published at the very dawn of the Reformation, as authoritative proofs of the doctrine of our Church. The above extracts may perhaps show them, that, however pleasant the first taste may be, there are some sours mixed up with the Romish sweets which these works contain; and if they will have the one, they must be satisfied to take the other.

We decline, for the sake of a momentary gain, to make any such illegitimate use of these documents. But this we do say, that if even *then* the Tractarian doctrine of Episcopacy was not held by our Church, much less is it conceivable that it was held after the current of our theology had taken a course so much more decidedly Protestant, and our divines were recognizing the ministers of the Foreign Non-Episcopal Churches as their colleagues in the ministry. In these extracts, we see the views on this subject with which our divines *commenced* the work of Reformation; and it will hardly be urged that, when they went forward on every other point, they retrograded in this.

But we have still stronger testimony to the views of the leading divines of the English Church at this period. In the autumn of 1540, certain questions were proposed by the king to the chief bishops and

divines of the day,* of which the tenth was this: "Whether bishops or priests were first? and if the priests were first, then the priest made the bishop." With the wording of this question we have nothing to do, and should certainly be sorry to be made answerable for it; but our object is to see what views were elicited in the answers. Now to this question the Archbishop of Canterbury (Cranmer) replied: "The bishops and priests were at one time, and were not two things, but both one office in the beginning of Christ's religion." The Archbishop of York (Lee) says: "The name of a bishop is *not properly a name of order, but a name of office*, signifying an overseer. And although the inferior shepherds have also care to oversee their flock, yet, forso much as the bishop's charge is also to oversee the shepherds, the name of overseer is given to the bishops, and not to the other; and as they be *in degree* higher, so in their consecration we find difference even from the primitive Church.' The Bishop of London (Bonner) says: "I think the bishops were first, and yet I think it is *not of importance, whether the priest then made the bishop, or else the bishop the priest*; considering (after the sentence of St. Jerome) that in the beginning of the Church there was none (or, if it were, very small) difference between a bishop and a priest, especially touching the signification." The Bishop of St. David's, (Barlow,) and the Bishop elect of Westminster, (Thirlby,) held that bishops and priests "*at the beginning were all one.*"

* These questions and answers are given by Burnet, in his *History of the Reformation*, and Collyer, in his *Ecclesiastical History*.

Dr. Robertson, in his answer, says: "Nec opinor absurdum esse, ut sacerdos episcopum consecret, si episcopus haberi non potest." Dr. Cox (afterwards Bishop of Ely) says: "Although by Scripture (as St. Hierome saith) priests and bishops be one, and therefore the one not before the other, yet bishops, as they be now, were after priests, and therefore made of priests." Dr. Redmayn, the learned Master of Trinity College, Cambridge, says: "They be of like beginning, and at the beginning were both one, as St. Hierome and other old authors show by the Scripture, whereof one made another indifferently." Dr. Edgeworth says: "That the priests in the primitive Church made bishops, I think no inconvenience, (as Jerome saith, in an *Epist. ad Evagrium.*) Even like as soldiers should choose one among themselves to be their captain; so did priests choose one of themselves to be their bishop, for consideration of his learning, gravity, and good living, &c., and also for to avoid schisms among themselves by them, that some might not draw people one way, and others another way, if they lacked one Head among them." With respect to the other answers, which are from the Bishops of Rochester (Heath) and Carlisle, (Aldrich,) and Drs. Day, Oglethorp, Symmons, Tresham, and Coren, it is difficult to judge what the views of the writers would have been on the point we are now considering.

All the leading divines, therefore, whose testimonies we have just quoted, were of opinion that bishops and priests were, properly and strictly speaking, of the same *order*, though differing in *degree*.

Nay, more; we find by the answers to the next question, that, even at that time, some were prepared to take the next step, and grant to presbyters, under some circumstances, the power to ordain presbyters; and that most of them replied uncertainly to the question. The question was this: "Whether a bishop hath authority to make a priest by the Scripture or no? *And whether any other but only a bishop can make a priest?*" The reply of Cranmer, Archbishop of Canterbury, goes much beyond what we should wish to plead for, and is as follows: "A bishop may make a priest by the Scripture, and so may princes and governors also, and that by the authority of God committed to them, and the people also by their election: for as we read that bishops have done it, so Christian emperors and princes usually have done it; and the people, before Christian princes were, commonly did elect their bishops and priests." The answers given by the rest to the latter part of the question were to the following effect. Dr. Cox (made in 1559 Bishop of Ely) and Dr. Tresham openly admit, that, in a case of necessity, others may ordain besides bishops. The Archbishop of York says, "That any other than bishops *or priests* may make a priest, we neither find in Scripture nor out of Scripture;" clearly implying that priests may make a priest. The Bishops of Rochester and Carlisle, the Bishop elect of Westminster, and Drs. Redmayn, Symmons, Robertson, Leighton, Curren, Edgeworth, and Oglethorp, reply only, that they have *never read* that others besides bishops assumed the power of ordaining. The Bishop of London and Dr. Day give no reply to this part of

the question. So that not one ventures to determine definitively that the power of ordination belongs exclusively to bishops.

Such was the doctrine of the leading divines of our Church at this period on the subject. We may therefore safely leave it to the reader to determine, whether, when in 1549 they put forth the Ordinal, with a Preface in which they speak of the "three orders" of the Christian ministry, they meant to assert, that the Episcopal and Priestly orders were so completely two distinct orders, that the special duties for the performance of which bishops had been set apart could under no circumstances be performed by priests; and were not rather using the word "order" in a large and general sense; especially when we find that the Services never apply the word *order* or *ordering* to the making of bishops, but only in the case of deacons and priests, and speak of the *consecration* of bishops; and that most of our early divines, as, for instance, the most distinguished among the earliest defenders of our Church against the Puritans, Archbishop Whitgift, held (as we shall show presently) that bishops and priests are, strictly speaking, of the same order.*

* The Bishop of Exeter admits that the Schoolmen Peter Lombard and others did hold Bishops and Priests to be of the same *order*, but it was that they might magnify the sacraments, and he quotes St. Thomas as follows: "Order may be taken in two ways—in one as it is a sacrament; and then, as has been said before, all order is ordained *ad Eucharistiæ Sacramentum*; wherefore, since the bishop has here no superior power to the priest's, *quantum ad hoc*, Episcopate is not an Order. But Order may be considered in another way, that is, as it is a certain *office*, in respect to certain sacred acts; and so, as the bishop has a power in hierarchical acts, in respect to the mystical Body [the Church] superior to the priest, the Episcopate will be an Order: and it is in this way that Di-

Let us proceed to the divines of Queen Elizabeth's reign, when our Formularies were finally constituted and established as (with a few exceptions) they now stand.

Unfortunately, the question now at issue was not so brought into controversy at that period as to enable us to find many direct testimonies upon the subject; for no one but a professed Romanist dreamed of throwing a doubt upon the validity of the Orders of the divines of the Foreign Non-Episcopal Churches. We are therefore thrown upon their incidental notices of the matter. But even where the witness is not direct, it is sufficiently plain to indicate the doctrine held. And, in fact, the ground then taken on this subject by our leading divines was much lower than what the lowest of the (so-called) Low Churchmen of modern times have ordinarily maintained; for they expressly defend the position, that the form of church government adopted is a matter of indifference, left to the free choice of each Church for itself.

We give the precedence, as the order of time demands, to the learned Bishop of Exeter, Dr. Alley, who in his Prælections upon 1 Peter, read publicly in St. Paul's, in 1560, says:

"What difference is between a bishop and a priest, S. Hierome, writing ad Titum, doth declare, whose words be these, 'Idem est er-

onysius, and even the Master himself [iv. *Dist.* 24, s. i. m. iii.] speaks of it as an Order." "And here," says Mr. Goode, "is just the very species of language to which I referred as held by some of the Scholastic divines; attributing the superiority of the Bishop, not to his having superior powers so far as his ORDERS were concerned, but only so far as concerned the OFFICE bestowed upon him; that is, the official duties he had to perform."

go presbyter, qui episcopus,' &c. ; a priest, therefore, is the same that a bishop is, &c."

And having given Jerome's words in full, he adds:

"These words are alleged, that it may appear priests among the elders to have been *even the same that bishops were*. But it grew by little and little that the whole charge and cure should be appointed to one bishop within his precinct, that the seeds of dissension might utterly be rooted out." (Alley's *Poor Man's Library*, 2d ed. 1571, tom. i. fol. 95, 96.)

It could hardly be doubted, then, by one who held this, that if the circumstances of the Church required it, Presbyterian ordination would be valid

About the same period, namely, in 1563, we have a much stronger testimony from Dr. Pilkington, then Bishop of Durham:

"Yet remains one doubt unanswered in these few words, when he says, that 'the government of the Church was committed to bishops,' as though they had received a larger and higher commission from God of doctrine and discipline than other lower priests or ministers have, and thereby might challenge a greater prerogative. But this is to be understood, that *the privileges and superiorities, which bishops have above other ministers, are rather granted by men for maintaining of better order and quietness in commonwealths, than commanded by God in His word*. Ministers have better knowledge and utterance some than other, but their ministry is of equal dignity. God's commission and commandment is like and indifferent to all, priest, bishop, archbishop, prelate, by what name soever he be called. . . . St. Paul calls the elders of Ephesus together, and says, 'the Holy Ghost made them bishops to rule the Church of God.' (Acts 20.) He writes also to the bishops of Philippos, meaning the ministers. . . . St. Jerome, in his commentary on the first chapter *Ad. Tit.*, says that 'a bishop and a priest is all one.' . . . A bishop is a name of office, labor, and pains." (*Confut. of an Addition. Works*, ed. Park Soc. pp. 493, 494.)

Both these were among the Bishops who settled our Articles, on the accession of Queen Elizabeth.

Our next witness shall be Bishop Jewel, of whose standing in our Church it is unnecessary to add a word. On the parity of order in priests and bishops, he says :

“Is it so horrible a neresy, as he [Harding] maketh it, to say, that by the Scriptures of God a bishop and a priest are all one ? or knoweth he how far, and unto whom, he reacheth the name of an heretic ? Verily Chrysostom saith : ‘Between a bishop and a priest in a manner there is no difference.’ (In 1 Tim. hom. 11.) S. Hierome saith. . . . ‘The apostle plainly teacheth us, that priests and bishops be all one.’ (ad. Evagr.) S. Augustine saith : ‘What is a bishop but the first priest ; that is to say, the highest priest ?’ (In *Quest. N. et V. Test.* q. 101.) So saith S. Ambrose : ‘There is but one consecration (ordinatio) of priest and bishop ; for both of them are priests, but the bishop is the first.’ (In 1 Tim. c. 3.) All these and other more holy Fathers, together with St. Paul the apostle, for thus saying, by M. Harding’s advice, must be holden for heretics.” (*Def. of Apol.* Pt. ii. c. 9. div. i. *Works*, p. 202. See also Pt. ii. c. iii. div. i. p. 85.)

But there is a passage in his writings still more strongly bearing on the point in question. Harding had charged our Church with deriving its orders from apostate bishops, etc. Jewel replies :

“Therefore we neither have bishops without church, nor church without bishops. Neither doth the Church of England this day depend of them whom you often call apostates, as if our Church were no Church without them. . . . *If there were not one, neither of them nor of us left alive, yet would not therefore the whole Church of England flee to Lovaine.* Tertullian saith : ‘And we being laymen, are we not priests ? It is written, Christ hath made us both a kingdom and priests unto God his Father. The authority of the Church, and the honor by the assembly, or council of order sanctified of God, hath made a difference between the lay and the clergy. Where as there is no assembly of ecclesiastical order, the priest being there

alone (without the company of other priests) doth both minister the oblation and also baptize. Yea, and be there but three together, and though they be laymen, yet is there a church. For every man liveth of his own faith.'” (*Def. of Apol.* Pt. ii. c. v. div. i. p. 129.)

It is needless to point out how much this passage implies.

We proceed to Archbishop Whitgift.

And first, as to the parity of order in bishops and priests, he speaks thus :

“Every bishop is a priest, but every priest hath not *the name and title* of a bishop, in that meaning that Jerome in this place [*Ad Evagr.*] taketh the name of a bishop. . . . Neither shall you find this word *episcopus* commonly used but for *that priest that is in degree over and above the rest*, notwithstanding *episcopus* be oftentimes called *presbyter*, because *presbyter* is the more general name.” (*Def. of Answ. to Adm.* 1574, fol. p. 383.)

“Although Hierome confess, that by Scripture *presbyter* and *episcopus* is all one, (AS IN DEED THEY BE *quoad ministerium*,) yet doth he acknowledge a superiority of the bishop before the minister. . . . Therefore no doubt this is Jerome’s mind, that a bishop *in degree and dignity* is above the minister, though he be one and the self-same with him in the office of ministering the word and sacraments.” (*Ib.* pp. 384, 385.)

Secondly, as to the form of government to be followed in the Church. His adversary Cartwright, like the great body of the Puritans, contended for the exclusive admissibility of the platform of church government he advocated; and, like Archdeacon Denison, maintained that “matters of discipline and kind of government are matters necessary to salvation and of faith.” And this is Whitgift’s reply :

“I confess that in a church collected together in one place, and at liberty, government is necessary in the second kind of necessity; but

that any one kind of government is so necessary that without it the Church can not be saved, *or that it may not be altered into some other kind thought to be more expedient*, I utterly deny, and the reasons that move me so to do be these. The first is, because *I find no one certain and perfect kind of government prescribed or commanded in the Scriptures to the Church of Christ*, which no doubt should have been done, if it had been a matter necessary unto the salvation of the Church. Secondly, because *the essential notes of the Church be these only; the true preaching of the word of God, and the right administration of the sacraments*: for (as Master Calvin saith, in his book against the Anabaptists): ‘This honor is meet to be given to the word of God, and to His sacraments, that wheresoever we see the word of God truly preached, and God according to the same truly worshipped, and the sacraments without superstition administered, there we may without all controversy conclude the Church of God to be:’ and a little after: ‘So much we must esteem the word of God and His sacraments, that wheresoever we find them to be, there we may certainly know the Church of God to be, although in the common life of men many faults and errors be found.’ The same is the opinion of other godly and learned writers and the judgment of *the Reformed Churches*, as appeareth by their Confessions. So that notwithstanding government, or some kind of government, may be a part of the Church, touching the outward form and perfection of it, yet is it not such a part of the essence and being, but that it may be the Church of Christ without this or that kind of government, and therefore the kind of government of the Church is not necessary unto salvation.” (*Ib.* p. 81.)

“*I deny that the Scriptures do . . . set down any one certain form and kind of government of the Church to be perpetual for all times, persons, and places without alteration.*” (*Ib.* p. 84.)

And speaking of the platform of church government contended for by Cartwright, he says:

“Yet would I not have any man to think that *I condemn any churches where this government is lawfully and without danger received*; only I have regard to whole kingdoms, especially this realm, where it can not but be dangerous.” (*Ib.* p. 658.)

In *Tract* 17, c. iv. he undertakes expressly to prove, "That there is no one certain kind of government in the Church which must of necessity be perpetually observed." (*Ib.* p. 658.) And he remarks in it:

"It is plain that any one certain form or kind of external government perpetually to be observed, is *no where in the Scripture prescribed to the Church*; but the charge thereof is left to the Christian magistrate, so that nothing be done contrary to the word of God." (*Ib.* p. 659.)

The equality of bishops and presbyters *jure divino*, was also expressly maintained at this period by the learned Dr. W. Whitaker, Reg. Prof. of Div. at Cambridge. Among other remarks on the subject, he says, referring to Jerome's words in his *Commentary on Titus*, c. i.:

"Si Episcopi *consuetudine non dispositione Dominica* presbyteris majores sunt, tum humano non divino jure totum hoc discrimen constat." (*Resp. ad Camp. defens. adv. J. Duræum. lib. vi. Op. tom. i. p. 149.*)

And to the reference of his opponent to Jerome's Epistle to Evagrius, showing that the power of ordination had been placed in the hands of the bishop, he replies:

"Quod autem affers ex eadem Epistola, ad humanam non divinam constitutionem pertinet. Etsi enim ortu suo iidem erant ambo, *postea tamen* (inquit Hieronymus) *unus electus est, qui cæteris præponeretur*; atque inde natum est illud episcopi ac presbyteri discrimen." (*Ibid.*)

Of course, then, that which owed its origin to human appointment might, by the same authority, in any individual church, be laid aside.

Our next witness shall be HOOKER, in himself a host. And when our readers have perused the extracts we are about to give from his writings, they will be able to judge of the honesty with which his name has been used in favor of the exclusive doctrine of the Tractarians, both in their *Catenas* and in their recent onslaught on the Archbishop of Canterbury.

“Now whereas hereupon (he observes) some do infer that no ordination can stand, but only such as is made by bishops which have had their ordination likewise by other bishops before them, till we come to the very Apostles of Christ themselves ; in which respect *it was demanded of Beza at Poissie*, ‘By what authority he could administer the holy sacraments, &c.’ [Our readers will observe *the instance cited*, the very case now in question between the Archbishop and his assailants.] . . . To this we answer, *that there may be sometimes very just and sufficient reason TO ALLOW ORDINATION MADE WITHOUT A BISHOP*. The whole Church visible being the true original subject of all power, it hath not ordinarily allowed any other than bishops alone to ordain ; howbeit, as the ordinary course is ordinarily in all things to be observed, so it may be, in some cases, not unnecessary that we decline from the ordinary ways. Men may be extraordinarily, yet allowably, two ways *admitted unto spiritual functions in the Church*. One is, when God Himself doth of Himself raise up any. . . . Another . . . when the exigence of necessity doth constrain to leave the usual ways of the Church, which otherwise we would willingly keep.” (*Eccl. Pol.* vii. 14. See also iii. 11.)

Here is a direct assertion of the validity of such orders as those of Beza.

And in a former passage of the same book, he distinctly admits the power of the Church at large to take away the Episcopal form of government from the Church, and says :

“*Let them [that is, bishops] continually bear in mind, that it is rather the force of custom, whereby the Church, having so long found it good to*

continue under the regiment of her virtuous bishops, doth still uphold, maintain, and honor them in that respect, than that any such true and heavenly law can be showed by the evidence whereof it may of a truth appear, that the Lord himself hath appointed presbyters forever to be under the regiment of bishops;" adding, that "*their authority*" is "*a sword which the Church hath power to take from them.*" (*Ib.* vii. 5. See also i. 14 and iii. 10.)

And, therefore, though he admits the office and superiority of bishops to be of Apostolical institution and takes much higher ground on the subject than most of his contemporaries, yet all that he expressly undertakes to prove on the subject is, that such superiority is "*a thing allowable, lawful, and good.*" (*Ib.* vii. 3.)

We will take the testimony of Hadrian Saravia; of whom Mr. Keble writes thus:

"Saravia is a distinct and independent testimony to the doctrine of *exclusive* [the Italics are ours] divine right in bishops. . . . And since Saravia was afterwards in familiar intercourse with Hooker, and his confidential adviser when writing on nearly the same subjects, we may with reason use the recorded opinions of the one for interpreting what might seem otherwise ambiguous in the other." (*Pref. to Hooker*, p. lxvii.)

Now certainly Hadrian Saravia took very high ground in his defense of Episcopacy, maintaining that the Episcopal authority was of Divine institution and Apostolical tradition, and was taught as well by the word of God as the universal consent of all Churches;* yet in the same work he speaks thus:

* *Episcopalem auctoritatem Divinæ institutionis et Apostolicæ traditionis esse defendo, et id tam Verbo Dei quam universali omnium Ecclesiarum consensu doceri.* (*Defens. Tract. de div. Ministr. Ev. gradibus: In Epist. dedicat.* Op. 1611.)

“In our fathers’ memory Luther, Bucer, Ecolampadius, and others, had no other calling than that which they had received in the Church of Rome; and when it happened to them to be called before Cæsar, no question respecting their calling could ever be justly raised; and if it had been, they had an answer ready more fit in my judgment than that which was made at the Conference at Poissy. . . . For although all who had assembled there before the king had not the same kind of ordination, and some were ordained by bishops of the Church of Rome, *others by the Reformed Churches, none of them ought to have been ashamed of his ordination.* They might, so far as I can see, without any danger, have professed that they had been *ordained and called*, some by bishops of the Church of Rome, *others by orthodox presbyters*, in the order received in the Churches of Christ, after an examination of their morals and doctrine, and with the authority of the magistrate and consent of the people, with the imposition of hands and prayer. Although I am of opinion that ordinations of ministers of the Church properly belong to bishops, yet necessity causes that when they are wanting and can not be had, *orthodox presbyters can in case of necessity ordain a presbyter*; which thing, although it is not in accordance with the order received from the times of the Apostles, yet is excused by the necessity of the case, which causes that in such a state of things a presbyter may be a bishop. Moreover, although the act is out of the usual order, the calling is not to be considered extraordinary.” [And then, having remarked that no one ought to receive orders from an heretical bishop, and that the Romish bishops were all heretics, he adds:] “This also is true, that in such a state of confusion in the Church, when all the bishops fall away from the true worship of God unto idolatry, without any violation of the government of the Church, the whole authority of the Episcopal ecclesiastical government is devolved upon the pious and orthodox presbyters, *so that a presbyter clearly may ordain presbyters.* . . . There is one God, one Lord Jesus Christ, one Church, one Baptism, one Ministry. The difference there is between presbyters and pastors of the Church of Christ consists in the authority of Ecclesiastical government. And this is not violated, when the higher orders being in any way removed, those who are of the lowest grade alone remain, with whom, consequently, *the whole power of the keys of the Church then resides.* . . . But where all the bishops are become impious heretics, the orthodox presbyters are freed from their

jurisdiction, and ought to vindicate to themselves the power of the keys which they have received in their ordination. . . . I certainly know not by what necessity Master Beza should have been compelled to resort to an extraordinary calling. *For I do not think that either he, or Nicholas Galasius, or any other that may have been then present, not ordained by Romish bishops, took upon themselves the ministry of the Word without a legitimate calling received in the Churches of Christ.*"*

Nor did he hold that the Foreign Non-Episcopal Churches were bound to seek Episcopacy from some Reformed Episcopal Church, for he says: "If they call in the aid of our men, and wish to use their advice, they can; but if they do not, they ought not to arrogate to themselves any authority over them and their churches, but to rejoice, and congratulate them upon their conversion, and offer them communion, (*offerre societatem.*)"†

So that here again we have a direct testimony in favor of the validity of the ordination of the Foreign Non-Episcopal Churches.

Let us take next the testimony of Dr. John Bridges, then (1587) Dean of Salisbury, afterwards Bishop of Oxford. He, as we shall see, agrees with Archbishop Whitgift, that the form of church government is a matter left to the discretion of each church. He speaks of it, indeed, in language which we can not reconcile with the respect we feel due to the primitive form of church government; but yet he was one of the most able and distinguished prelates of that period.

* Defens. Tract. de div. Ministr. Ev. gradibus, &c. ch. ii. pp. 32, 33. We translate from the Latin.

† Ib. p. 13.

With respect to the question of *order* in the case of bishops and priests, he expressly maintains that bishops are superiors, “*not in the office of their order, yet in the office of their dignity;*” (*Defense of the Government Established in the Church of England*, 1587, 4to, p. 287;) and he speaks of the Episcopal state as “a high calling, not so much of superior dignity, as of superior charge in governing of God’s Church.” (*Ib.* p. 288.)

And on the subject of the Episcopal government of the Church—opposing the notion of the Puritans, against whom he was writing, that one certain form only was allowable—he writes thus:

“If now, on the other side, this be not a matter of necessity, but such as may be varied, being but a form and manner of Ecclesiastical government, as the observation of this feast and these fasts were of accustomed order, not of necessity; then, so long as it is used in moderate sort, without tyranny or pride, nor any thing contrary to the proportion of faith and godliness of life necessarily maintained thereby, (for otherwise, if those fasts or this feast had been used to be kept superstitiously, it had been so far forth to be condemned,) there is no reason why we should break the bond of peace, and make such trouble in the Church of God, to reject the government *that in the nature thereof is as much indifferent as the solemnizing this or that day the memorial of the Lord’s resurrection.* And yet we celebrate the same on the Sunday only, as those bishops of Rome at that time did. Which I hope we do without all offense, though we have no precept in Scripture for it. And therefore, as Polycarpus and Anicetus, differing in that point, notwithstanding did not violate the peace and unity of the Church, so, according to Irenæus’s rule, while no such excessive superiority is maintained of us, as the Pope since that time hath usurped, but such as we find practised in the primitive Church and in the very apostles’ age, *we ought neither to condemn, nor speak, nor think evil of other good Churches that use another Ecclesiastical government than we do;* neither ought they to do the like of ours. Not that every person *in one and the same Church* should use

this liberty of difference, without controlment and restraint of the superior in that Church wherein he liveth. For, though it were lawful for one Church to differ from another, being not so tied to uniformity, as to unity; yet is it not meet for one Church to differ from itself; but to be both in unity, and be ruled also by uniformity. Especially where law binds them to obedience." (*Ib.* pp. 319, 320.)

Another of the most able prelates of our Church, and defender of it against the Puritans, was Dr. Thomas Cooper, Bishop, first of Lincoln, and afterwards of Winchester. In the year 1589, he published an *Admonition to the People of England*, in answer to the attacks of the Puritan party. And thus he defends in this work the form of church government established in this country :

"As touching the government of the Church of England, now defended by the bishops, this I say : When God restored the doctrine of the Gospel more sincerely and more abundantly than ever before, under that good young prince, King Edward VI. . . . by consent of all the States of this land, this manner of government that now is used was by law confirmed *as good and godly*. . . . As for this question of church government, I mean not at this time to stand much on it. . . . *Only this I desire, that they will lay down out of the word of God some just proofs, and a direct commandment, that there should be in all ages and states of the Church of Christ one only form of outward government.*" (Ed. Lond. 1847, pp. 61-63.)

So that, far from maintaining the necessity of the Episcopal form of church government, he, on the contrary, challenges his opponents to prove that any particular form of church government is necessary. And he adds :

"Surely, as grave learned men as most that have written in this time do make good proof of this proposition. *That*

one form of church government is not necessary in all times and places of the Church, and that their Senate or Segniorie is not convenient under a Christian magistrate."

And after pointing out the different forms of church government that prevailed in the Foreign Non-Episcopal Churches, he says :

"All those churches in which the Gospel in these days, after great darkness, was first renewed, and the learned men whom God sent to instruct them, I doubt not but *have been directed by the Spirit of God to retain this liberty*, that in external government and other outward orders, they might choose such as they thought in wisdom and godliness to be most convenient for the state of their country and disposition of the people. *Why, then, should this liberty that other countries have used under any color be wrested from us ?*" (*Ib.* p. 66.)

"*The reason that moveth us not to like of this platform of government is, that when we, on the one part, consider the things that are required to be redressed, and on the other the state of our country, people, and common weal, we see evidently, that to plant those things in this Church will draw with it so many and so great alterations of the state of government and of the laws, as the attempting thereof might bring rather the overthrow of the Gospel among us, than the end that is desired.*" (*Ib.* p. 67.)

This of course disposes of the doctrine of our opponents, root and branch.

We will add but one more authority for the reign of Queen Elizabeth. We began with the Bishop of Exeter; we will end with one of whose high authority as the proper expounder of the doctrine of our Church we have lately heard much—the Dean of the Arches. We beg the attention of our opponents to the following statement of the very learned and able Dean of the Arches in 1584, Dr. Richard Cosin. It occurs in his answer, "published by au-

thority," to a Puritan work, entitled *An Abstract on Certain Acts of Parliament*. He is opposing the notion that "a set form" of "external policy of discipline and ceremonies" is "set down in Scripture," and he says:

"Are all the churches of Denmark, Sweveland, Poland, Germany, Rhetia, Vallis, Tellina, the nine cantons of Switzerland reformed, with their confederates of Geneva, of France, of the Low Countries, and of Scotland, in all points, either of substance or of circumstance, disciplined alike? Nay, they neither are, can be, *nor yet need so to be*; seeing it *can not be proved, that any set and exact particular form thereof is recommended unto us by the word of God.*" (*Answer to an Abstract, etc.*, 1584, 4to. p. 58.)

Such are the statements of some of the best authorities for the doctrine of our Church in the time of Queen Elizabeth, in whose reign our Articles and Formularies were settled (with slight exceptions) in their present form. *And we now challenge the Archbishop's assailants to produce their authorities for the same period.* Can they bring even one for *their doctrine*? We do not believe it. And upon the testimonies of this period, be it remembered, must rest the proof of the original and genuine doctrine of our Reformed Protestant Church. That there was a declension from that doctrine afterwards, in many of our divines, is freely confessed. But that proves nothing. It can neither alter nor add to the doctrine of our Church, as laid down in her Formularies drawn up in the time of the divines from whom we have been quoting. And we shall give presently a series of testimonies, from their times to our own, showing that their view has, in the main, been held

by a large proportion of our greatest divines ever since ; and farther, that even the highest among our eminent High Church divines (as they are called) have never advocated the extreme notions maintained by the Tractarians, and were not, therefore, High Churchmen.*

The ground taken by our early divines, as shown by the testimonies above given, was that the Episcopal form of church government is the best and the most Scriptural, and comes recommended to us by the practice of the Church even from the times of the Apostles, but has not been authoritatively laid down by Christ or his Apostles as of indispensable obligation, and therefore is not binding upon all Churches.

They did not oppose the early Nonconformists on the ground of the absolute necessity of the Episcopal form of Church government, still less of a succession of bishops consecrated by bishops, to constitute a Church. They left such notions to the Romanists. But they found fault with them, as throwing a well-constituted Church into confusion and disorder, as causing needless schisms and divisions, and as sinfully disobeying the ordinances of the Supreme Power in the State, which had established a Christian Church agreeable to Holy Scripture and Apostolic practice. The high-flown claims of our Tractarian High Churchmen to the *exclusive admissibility* of one system of Church government, were the weapons,

* The only authorities quoted by the Bishop of Exeter as holding the doctrine of exclusive validity in the reign of Elizabeth, are Hooker and Bishop Bilson. The true testimony of Hooker is given above, and it can be shown from Bilson that this particular question was not before his mind at all. He says that bishops only can ordain in the Church of England. Elizabeth died in 1603.

not of the divines of our Church, but of their opponents, the Puritans. The Genevan platform of Church government was with the Puritans that which alone was conformable to the word of God. Every other, but especially the Prelatical, was to be eschewed as an abomination. And, as to the power of the civil ruler in religious matters, they spoke of it—much as the Tractarians now speak of it; except that under Elizabeth they muttered in the dark what under Victoria is proclaimed in the market-place.* Thus it is that extremes meet.

III. The PRACTICE OF OUR CHURCH for many years after the Reformation entirely refutes the notion that she holds the ordinations of the Scotch and Foreign Non-Episcopal Churches to be invalid; for, *until the period of the Restoration, ministers of those Churches were admitted to the cure of souls in our Church without any fresh ordination.*

In 1582 (April 6) a license was granted by the Vicar-General of the Archbishop of Canterbury (Grindal) to a minister of the name of John Morrison, who had only Scotch orders, in the following terms:

* Hence we may remark, by the way, that when we are considering the events of that period, and the apparent (and to some extent real) absence of those principles of toleration now so happily established among us, it must not be forgotten, that the object of the early Nonconformists was, not the mere toleration of their own system, but the utter subversion of the system of church government then established by the consent of the sovereign, the clergy, and the people, and the substitution of their own in its stead. This was notoriously and confessedly their aim; and this it was which infused so much wrath and bitterness into the controversies of the period.

[The Nonconformists after the Restoration, such as Baxter and his school, did not take this ground.—Ed.]

“Since you, the aforesaid John Morrison, about five years past, in the town of Garvet, in the county of Lothian, of the kingdom of Scotland, were *admitted and ordained to sacred orders and the holy ministry, by the imposition of hands, according to the laudable form and rite of the Reformed Church of Scotland*; and since the congregation of that county of Lothian is conformable to the orthodox faith and sincere religion now received in this realm of England, and established by public authority; we, therefore, as much as lies in us, and as by right we may, *approving and ratifying the form of your ordination and preferment (præfectionis) done in such manner aforesaid, grant to you a license and faculty, with the consent and express command of the most reverend Father in Christ the Lord Edmund, by the Divine providence Archbishop of Canterbury, to us signified, that in such orders by you taken you may, and have power, in any convenient places in and throughout the whole province of Canterbury, to celebrate divine offices, to minister the sacraments, etc., as much as in us lies, and we may de jure, and as far as the laws of the kingdom do allow, etc.*” (*Strype’s Life of Grindal*, Bk. 2, c. xiii. p. 271; or Oxf. ed. p. 402.)

To this we need only add the testimony of Bishop Cosin, confessedly (as the phrase goes) a High Churchman. He says, in an admirable letter on this subject, written from Paris, Feb. 7, 1650, from which we shall presently give a large extract:

“Therefore, if at any time a minister so ordained in these French Churches came to incorporate himself in ours, and to receive a public charge or cure of souls among us in the Church of England, (as I have known some of them to have so done of late, and can instance in *many other before my time,*) *our bishops did not reördain him before they admitted him to his charge, as they must have done, if his former ordination here in France had been void.* NOR DID OUR LAWS REQUIRE MORE OF HIM THAN TO DECLARE HIS PUBLIC CONSENT TO THE RELIGION RECEIVED AMONGST US, AND TO SUBSCRIBE THE ARTICLES ESTABLISHED.” (Letter to Mr. Cordel, in Basire’s “Account of Bishop Cosin,” annexed to his “Funeral Sermon;” and also in Bishop Fleetwood’s *Judgment of the Church of England in the case of Lay Baptism*, 2d ed. Lond. 1712, p. 52.)

And the same testimony is borne by Bishop Fleetwood, who says that this was "certainly her practice [that is, of our Church] during the reigns of King James and King Charles I. and to the year 1661. We had many ministers from Scotland, from France, and the Low Countries, who were ordained by presbyters only, and not bishops, and they were instituted into benefices with cure . . . and yet were never reordained, but only subscribed the Articles." (*Judgm. of Church of Eng. in case of Lay Baptism*, 1712. 8vo. pt. ii. *Works*, p. 552.)

If these cases do not prove, that at least our Church has never disowned the validity of the ordinations of the Scotch and Foreign Non-Episcopal Churches, and that her *practice* till the Restoration was to recognize their validity, nothing would do so. For Dr. Cosin, who must have been well acquainted with the matter, (having filled important posts in the Church since the year 1616, and been librarian to Bishop Overal, and domestic chaplain to Bishop Neale,) speaks of it, not as a custom with *some* only, but as the practice of "the bishops" generally, and sanctioned by the law.

The last sentence in the extract from Dr. Cosin, no doubt refers to the Act 13 Eliz. c. 12, in which it was enacted, that any professing to be a priest or minister of God's word and sacraments, who had been ordained by any other form than that authorized by Edward VI. and Queen Elizabeth, should be called upon to declare his assent and subscribe to the Articles of religion. The parties more particularly in the

eye of the framers of the Act were probably those ordained by the Romish form, but the application of the clause was of course general.

True, as we have already observed, after the Restoration this was altered. The Act of Uniformity 13, 14 Car. II. c. 4 §§ 13, 14, requires that all admitted to any "ecclesiastical promotion or dignity whatsoever" in our Church, or to administer the Lord's Supper, should have had "Episcopal ordination." And a clause of a similar kind was added in the Preface to the Ordination Services; the words, "or hath had formerly Episcopal consecration or ordination," being inserted at that time.

But this could not affect the doctrine of our Church as previously laid down in the Articles. The Article declaring the doctrine of our Church on the subject of admission to the ministerial office remained the same as it was when ministers of the Foreign Non-Episcopal Churches were freely permitted to minister in our churches. But the Episcopal form of church government being established in our Church, it was very reasonably required by the Act, that all who held any "promotion" in it should have received Episcopal ordination, and this especially at a time when the benefices of the Church had been filled by men attached to the Presbyterian form of church government, and the Episcopalian ministers ejected from them. The state of things at the time shows the object which the Act had in view, as no attempt had been made previously to get such a law passed against the admission of ministers of Non-Episcopal Churches. And in the very next section

of the Act (§ 15) we find a recognition of those communities as "the Foreign Reformed Churches." The fact that our Church requires all who hold office in her communion to be ordained according to that form of church government which she has chosen to follow, proves nothing as to her doctrine on the abstract question of the validity of the Orders of Non-Episcopal Churches.

Once more; if it were the case that our Church held all but Episcopal ordinations to be invalid, and that only those who have been ordained by bishops are entitled to preach the word and administer both the sacraments, the whole Bench of Bishops have been for more than a century, if not at the present moment, involved in the guilt of acting directly contrary to the doctrine of the Church; for the missionaries sent out as ordained ministers by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, which is under the especial direction of the Bench of Bishops, used to be for the most part only in Lutheran orders; and if the practice has been given up, its discontinuance must be of very recent date.

On these grounds, then, namely, the witness of our early divines, the statements of our Formularies, and the practice of our Church, we maintain, without hesitation, that our Church does not hold the doctrine of the exclusive validity of Episcopal Orders.

We admit that, in that great alteration that gradually took place subsequently to the reign of Elizabeth, in the tone of the doctrine practically held in our Church by many of her divines, there was a great change on this point as well as others.

We find Lord Bacon complaining, just at the close of the reign of Elizabeth, that some of the clergy denied the validity of the Orders conferred in the Foreign Non-Episcopal Churches. He says: "Some indiscreet persons have been bold in open preaching to use dishonorable and derogatory speech and censure of the Churches abroad; and that so far, as as some of our men, as I have heard, ordained in foreign parts, have been pronounced to be no lawful ministers." (*Advertisement touch. the Controv. of the Church of Eng. ; Works*, ii. 514, ed. 1819.)

This is another proof that men so ordained were allowed by public authority to minister in our Church; and also, no doubt, a proof that there had then arisen a school of divines among us that denied the validity of their Orders. But whatever might be the case with some hot-headed men in our Church, we do not find the *more eminent* divines even of that new school taking such ground. The utmost length to which they go, is to leave the question of the validity of such ordinations doubtful, and decline the determination of it; always, as far as we can recollect, protesting against their having any notion of denying to the Foreign Non-Episcopal Churches the character and essential privileges of Churches of Christ, however imperfectly constituted they might consider them to be.

Bishop Andrews, for instance, might perhaps have felt a difficulty with respect to much that our earlier divines had written upon the subject; but, nevertheless, he says, when speaking on the subject of the

proper form of government for the Church, in his Letters, in 1618, to Du Moulin:

“And yet, though our government be by Divine right, it follows not, either that there is ‘no salvation,’ or that ‘a Church can not stand without it.’ He must needs be stone blind, that sees not Churches standing without it: he must needs be made of iron, and hard-hearted, that denies them salvation. We are not made of that metal; we are none of those ironsides; we put a wide difference betwixt them. Somewhat may be wanting that is of Divine right, (at least in the external government,) and yet salvation may be had. . . . This is not to damn any thing, to *prefer a better thing before it*: this is not to damn your Church, to recall it to another form, that all antiquity was better pleased with, that is, to ours: and this, when God shall grant the opportunity, and your estate may bear it.” (*Second Lett. to Du Moulin. See Wordsw. Christ. Instit. vol. iii. p. 239.*)

After him, Archbishop Bramhall took the highest ground among the eminent divines of that day in favor of Episcopacy; but, nevertheless, was far from pronouncing all but Episcopal Orders invalid. Writing, in 1643, against the Separatists, (as the Dissenters were then called,) he says:

“In a difference of ways, every pious and peaceable Christian, out of his discretion and care of his own salvation, will inquire which is ‘*via tutissima*’—‘the safest way.’ . . . And seeing there is required to the essence of a Church—first, a pastor; secondly, a flock; thirdly, a subordination of this flock to this pastor—where we are not sure that there is right ordination, what assurance have we that there is a Church? [But then he immediately adds] *I write not this to prejudice our neighbor Churches.* I dare not limit the extraordinary operation of God’s Spirit, where ordinary means are wanting without the default of the persons. He gave His people manna for food whilst they were in the wilderness. Necessity is a strong plea. Many Protestant Churches lived under kings and bishops of another communion; others had particular reasons why they could

not continue or introduce bishops; but *it is not so with us.*
 But the chief reason is, because I DO NOT MAKE THIS WAY
 TO BE SIMPLY NECESSARY, BUT ONLY SHOW WHAT IS SAFEST, where so
 many Christians are of another mind. I know that there is *great dif-*
ference between a VALID and a REGULAR ordination; and what some
 choice divines do write of ease of necessity, and for my part am apt
 to believe that God looks upon His people in mercy, with all their
 prejudices; and that there is *a great latitude left* to particular
 churches in the constitution of their ecclesiastical regiment, accord-
 ing to the exigence of time, and place, and persons, so as order
 and his own institution be observed." (*Serpent-Salve*, § 25. *Works*,
 Oxf. ed. vol. iii. pp. 475, 476.)

Again, in another subsequent work, (written about
 1659,) he writes:

"I can not assent to his minor proposition, that either all or any
 considerable part of the Episcopal divines in England do unchurch
 either all or the most part of the Protestant Churches. No man is
 hurt but by himself. They unchurch none at all, but leave them to
 stand or fall to their own Master. They do not unchurch the Swed-
 ish, Danish, Bohemian Churches, and many other Churches in Po-
 lonia, Hungaria, and those parts of the world which have an ordi-
 nary uninterrupted succession of pastors, some by the names of
 Bishops, others under the name of Seniors, unto this day. (I
 meddle not with the Socinians.) They unchurch not the Lutheran
 Churches in Germany, who both assert Episcopacy in their confes-
 sions, and have actual superintendents in their practice, and would
 have bishops, name and thing, if it were in their power. Let him
 not mistake himself; those Churches which he is so tender of,
 though they be better known to us by reason of their vicinity, are
 so far from being 'all or the most part of the Protestant Churches,'
 that, being all put together, they amount not to so great a proportion
 as the Britannic Churches alone. And if one secluded out of them
 all those who want an ordinary succession without their own faults,
 out of invincible ignorance of necessity, and all those who desire to
 have an ordinary succession, either explicitly or implicitly, they will
 be reduced to a little flock indeed. But let him set his heart at rest.
 I will remove this scruple out of his mind, that he may sleep securely

upon both ears. *Episcopal divines do not deny* THOSE CHURCHES *to be true Churches wherein salvation may be had.* We advise them, as it is our duty, to be circumspect for themselves, and not to put it to more question, whether they have Ordination or not, or desert the general practice of the Universal Church for nothing, when they may clear it if they please. Their case is not the same with those who labor under invincible necessity. . . . Episcopal divines will readily subscribe to the determination of the learned Bishop of Winchester [Andrews] in his *Answer to the Second Epistle of Moli-næus* [quoting the passage we have given above.] This mistake proceedeth from not distinguishing between the true nature and essence of a Church, *which we do readily grant them*, and the integrity and perfection of a Church, which we can not grant them without swerving from the judgment of the Catholic Church." (*Vindic. of himself and the Episcopal Clergy*, c. 3; *Works*, vol. iii. pp. 517, 518. See also his *Replication to the Bishop of Chalcedon*, *Answ. to Pref.* § 1; *Works*, iii., 25, 26; and c. 1, § 2. *Ib.* 69, 70.)

And here we must not omit to notice, in passing, (what this last extract indicates, and is fully confirmed elsewhere in his *Works*,) that there is another material difference in his views from those of our modern Tractarians, namely, that what he *especially* contends for, is a succession of pastors, not necessarily *bishops consecrated by bishops*, and that out of these pastors one should be appointed as president over the rest; and, therefore, he speaks favorably of the Lutheran Churches. He says, elsewhere, expressly, of "most" of the Protestant Churches "in High Germany," "all these have their bishops or superintendents, *which is all one*;" . . . "three parts of four of the Protestant Churches have either bishops or superintendents, *which is all one*." (*Serpent-Salve*; *Works*, iii. 480, 485.) He does not, therefore, insist so much upon a succession of bishops conse-

crated by bishops, as upon the adoption of the Episcopal form of government. But this by the way.

We may judge, then, from these passages of Bishop Andrews and Archbishop Bramhall, what would have been the feelings of the most eminent even of our High Church divines respecting the language adopted on this subject by the Tractarian school.

We will now add a few of the numerous testimonies that could be given from the writings of our most celebrated divines, since the close of Queen Elizabeth's reign to the present day, showing the light in which they regarded the Orders of the Scotch and Foreign Non-Episcopal Churches.

Of Archbishop Bancroft's opinion we may form some judgment from the countenance he gave to the work of his chaplain, Rogers, on the XXXIX. Articles, already quoted. But, indirectly, we have a still more express testimony of his judgment on the subject, as well as of several of his brother bishops, in the following passage in Archbishop Spotiswood's *History of Scotland*. The Archbishop relates that when, in 1610, a regular episcopate was about to be conferred upon the Church of Scotland, by the consecration of three Scottish clergymen (of whom Spotiswood himself was one) as bishops of that Church, by the Bishops of London, Ely, and Bath, at the chapel of London-House :

"A question in the mean time was moved by Dr. Andrews, Bishop of Ely, touching the consecration of the Scottish bishops, who, as he said, 'must first be ordained presbyters as having re-

ceived no ordination from a bishop.' The Archbishop of Canterbury, Dr. Bancroft, who was by, maintained, 'that thereof there was no necessity, seeing where bishops could not be had, the ordination given by the presbyters must be esteemed lawful; otherwise, that it might be doubted if there were any lawful vocation in most of the Reformed Churches.' This applauded to by the other bishops, Ely acquiesced; and at the day and in the place appointed the three Scottish bishops were consecrated." (*Spotiswood's Hist. of Church and State of Scotland*, 4th ed. 1677, fol. p. 514.)

Next, let us hear Archbishop Usher's judgment, given at the latter end of his life :

"I have ever declared my opinion to be, that *episcopus et presbyter gradu tantum differunt non ordine*, and consequently that in places where bishops can not be had, *the ordination by presbyters standeth valid*; yet, on the other side, holding as I do that a bishop hath superiority in degree above a presbyter, you may easily judge that the ordination made by such presbyters as have severed themselves from those bishops unto whom they had sworn canonical obedience, can not possibly, by me, be excused from being schismatical. And howsoever I must needs think that the Churches which have no bishops are thereby become very much defective in their government, and that the Churches in France, who living under a Popish power, can not do what they would, are more excusable in this defect than the Low Countries, that live under a free State, yet, for the testifying my communion with these Churches, (which I do love and honor as true members of the Church universal,) I do profess that, with like affection, I should receive the blessed sacrament at the hands of the Dutch ministers, if I were in Holland, as I should do at the hands of the French ministers if I were in Charentone." (*Judgment of the late Archbishop of Armagh, etc.* By N. Bernard. Lond. 1657, 8vo, pp. 125-127.)

No one probably will question the high value which Bishop Hall had for Episcopacy, manifested in his Treatise on the subject. Yet, in a Discourse addressed to the Clergy of his Diocese as Bishop of

Norwich, when speaking of the differences between the Church of England and the Non-Episcopal Churches abroad, he writes thus :

“Blessed be God, there is no difference in any essential matter betwixt the Church of England and her sisters of the Reformation. We accord in every point of Christian doctrine without the least variation ; their public Confessions and ours are sufficient convictions to the world of our full and absolute agreement. The only difference is, in the form of outward administration ; wherein also we are so far agreed, as that *we all profess this form not to be essential to the being of a Church*, though much importing the well or better being of it, according to our several apprehensions thereof ; and that we do all retain a reverence and loving opinion of each other in our own several ways ; not seeing any reason why *so poor a diversity* should work any alienation of affection in us one towards another.” (*The Peacemaker*, § 6, published in 1647. *Works*, by Pratt, vol. viii. p. 56.)

So also our learned Bishop Davenant :

“In a disordered Church, where all the bishops have fallen into heresy or idolatry, where they have refused to ordain orthodox ministers, where they have considered those only who are associates of their faction and error to be worthy of holy orders, if orthodox presbyters (for the preservation of the Church) are compelled to ordain other presbyters, I could not venture to pronounce such ordinations useless and invalid.” And this he proceeds to apply to the case of certain Protestant Churches. (*Determ. quæst., etc.* Cant. 1634, fol., q. 42, p. 191.)

And in his Letter to Mr. Dury, on promoting peace among the Protestant Churches, he says :

“Moreover, I doubt not at all but that the Saxon and Helvetian Churches, and others which either consent with these, or those, acknowledge themselves to have, and to desire to retain, brotherly communion with the English, Scottish, Irish, and other Foreign Reformed Churches. Surely, as concerning us, although we consent

not with them in all points and title of controversial divinity, yet we acknowledge them brethren in Christ, and protest ourselves to have a brotherly and holy communion with them." (Prefixed to his *Exhort. to broth. comm. betwixt the Protestant Churches*. Lond. 1641. 12mo, p. 33. See also the *Treatise* following it.)

One of the most eminent and able divines of our Church was Bishop Morton, of the seventeenth century, bishop successively of Chester, Litchfield, and Durham. And thus he speaks:

"Where the bishops degenerate into wolves, there the presbyters regain their ancient right of ordaining, (*consecrandi*.) I call it ancient, because that the Episcopate and the Presbyterate are, *jure divino*, the same, is laid down by Marsilius, Gratian, etc." (*Apol. Cathol.* pt. 1, lib. 1, c. 21. Ed. 2d, Lond. 1606, 8vo, p. 74.)

Another able prelate of our Church at this period, and a strenuous defender of Episcopacy, was Dr. George Downham. But in a sermon on this subject, after having undertaken to show the *jus divinum* of Episcopacy in the sense of being an apostolical institution, he guards himself against being supposed to take the ground which the Puritans took in behalf of their platform of church government, namely, that because it was to be found in the Scriptures, therefore it was "perpetually and unchangeably necessary in all Churches," remarking:

"Although we be well assured that the form of government by bishops is the best, as having not only the warrant of Scripture for the first institution, but also the perpetual practice of the Church from the Apostles' time to our age for the continuance of it; notwithstanding, we doubt not, but where this may not be had, others may be admitted; neither do we deny but that silver is good, though gold be better." (*Serm. at Consecr. of Bp. of Bath and Wells*. 1608, 4to, p. 95.)

And in his *Defence* of this sermon, referring to this passage, he says :

“Which objection and answer I inserted of purpose into the sermon, to preserve the credit of those Reformed Churches where the Presbyterian discipline is established, and that they might not be exposed or left naked to the obloquies of the Papists.” (*Def. of Serm. etc.* 1611, 4to, lib. 4, c. 7, pp. 145, 146.)

And expressly, on the point of ordination, he says :

“Thus have I reported the judgment of the ancient Church ascribing the ordinary right of ordination to bishops, but yet, not so appropriating it unto them as that extraordinarily and in case of necessity it might not be lawful for presbyters to ordain ; and much less teaching (as the Papists imagine) absolutely a nullity in the ordination which is not performed by a bishop. For suppose a Church (the state of some Reformed Churches) either altogether destitute of a bishop, or pestered with such as the Popish prelates are, heretical and idolatrous, by whom no orthodoxal ministers might hope to be ordained, we need not doubt but that the ancient Fathers would, in such a case of necessity, have allowed ordination without a bishop, though not as regular, according to the rules of ordinary church government, yet as effectual and as justifiable in the want of a bishop.” (*Serm.* pp. 42, 43.)

Lord Bacon, though a layman, may fairly claim a place among our witnesses. We have already noticed his rebuke of some of the hot spirits of his day for their language on the subject ; but let us hear the impartial testimony of such a mind as his on the general question :

“For the second point, that there should be but one form of discipline in all Churches, and that imposed by necessity of a commandment and prescript out of the word of God ; it is a matter volumes have been compiled of, and therefore can not receive a

brief redargution. I, for my part, do confess, that in revolving the Scriptures, I could never find any such thing: but that God had left the like liberty to the Church government, as he had done to the civil government; to be varied according to time, and place, and accidents, which nevertheless his high and divine providence doth order and dispose. For all civil governments are restrained from God unto the general grounds of justice and manners; but the policies and forms of them are left free: so that monarchies and kingdoms, senates and seignories, popular states and communalities, are lawful, and where they are planted ought to be maintained inviolate. So likewise in church matters, the substance of doctrine is immutable; and so are the general rules of government; but for rites and ceremonies, and for the particular hierarchies, policies, and discipline of churches, they be left at large." *Cert. Consid. touching Pacif. of Church; Works*, ed. 1819, vol. ii. pp. 529, 530.)

Our next witness shall be one who was confessedly one of the most able divines of his time, and ranks high, we believe, with our opponents; we mean, Dean Field.

Discussing the question, "whether the power of ordination be so essentially annexed to the order of bishops, that none but bishops may in any case ordain," he points out what is "implied in the calling of ecclesiastical ministers," and that the bishop of a church is only that presbyter that is appointed to be "specially pastor of the place, who for distinction sake is named a bishop, to whom an eminent and peerless power is given for the avoiding of schisms and factions;" and maintains that "the power of ecclesiastical or sacred order" "is equal and the same in all those whom we call presbyters, that is, fatherly guides of God's Church and people; and that only for order's sake, and the preservation of peace, there

is a limitation of the use and exercise of the same ; adding :

“Hereunto agree all the best learned amongst the Romanists themselves, freely confessing that that wherein a bishop excelleth a presbyter is *not a distinct and higher order or power of order, but a kind of dignity and office or employment only.*” “Hence it followeth, that many things which in some cases presbyters may lawfully do, are peculiarly reserved unto bishops, as Hierome noteth, *rather for the honor of their ministry than the necessity of any law.* And, therefore, we read, that presbyters, in some places, and at some times, did impose hands and confirm such as were baptized, which, when Gregory, bishop of Rome, would wholly have forbidden, there was so great exception taken to him for it, that he left it free again. And who knoweth not, that all presbyters, in cases of necessity, may absolve and reconcile penitents, a thing in ordinary course appropriated unto bishops ? *And why not, by the same reason, ordain presbyters and deacons in cases of like necessity ?* For seeing the cause why they are forbidden to do these acts, is, because to bishops ordinarily the care of all churches is committed, and to them in all reason the ordination of such as must serve in the Church pertaineth that have the chief care of the Church, and have churches wherein to employ them ; which only bishops have as long as they retain their standing, and not presbyters, being but assistants to bishops in their churches ; if they become enemies to God and true religion, in case of such necessity, as the care and government of the Church is devolved to the presbyters remaining Catholic and being of a better spirit, so *the duty of ordaining such as are to assist or succeed them in the work of the ministry pertains to them likewise.*” . . . “Surely, the best learned in the Church of Rome in former times durst not pronounce all ordinations of this nature to be void. For not only Armachanus, a very learned and worthy bishop, but as it appeareth by Alexander of Hales, many learned men in his time, and before, were of opinion that, in some cases, and at some times, presbyters may give orders, and that their ordinations are of force ; though to do so, not being urged by extreme necessity, can not be excused from over-great boldness and presumption.” (*Of the Church*, ed. 1628 ; lib. 3, c. 39, pp. 155-157. See also ib. lib. 5, c. 27, p. 500.)

Another most important witness on this subject is Archdeacon Francis Mason, the eminent defender of the Episcopate of the English Church against the Romanists. In 1641, a tract written by him was published, vindicating "*the validity of the ordination of the ministers of the Reformed Churches beyond the seas*;" being some papers originally intended by him to form part of his celebrated *Vindication of the Church of England*, but for some reason omitted. Its publication in this way has caused some (especially Mason's translator, Lindsay,) to cast a suspicion upon its genuineness; but not only is it spoken of as his by his contemporary, Dr. Bernard, Usher's chaplain, (*Judgment of the late Archbishop of Armagh*, 1657, p. 133,) and first appeared in a Collection of Tracts of which Usher was partly the author, but in a letter of Dr. Ward (then Master of Sidney College, Cambridge) to Usher, written shortly after the publication of the first edition of Mason's work in 1613, we find the following passages: "I pray you inform me, what the specialties are which are omitted in Mr. Mason's book. I would only know the heads." And then returning to the subject at the close of the letter, he says; "I had no leisure when I was with you to inquire how Mr. Mason doth warrant the vocation and ordination of the ministers of the Reformed Churches in Foreign parts." (*Parr's Life and Letters of Usher*, 1686, fol., p. 34.)

Now in this tract Mason says:

The bishop "in his consecration receiveth a sacred office, an eminency, a jurisdiction, a dignity, a degree of Ecclesiastical pre-eminence." "He hath no higher degree in respect of intentions or

extension of the character ; but he hath a higher degree, that is, a more excellent place in respect of authority and jurisdiction in spiritual regiment. *Wherefor seeing a presbyter is equal to a bishop in the power of order, he hath equally intrinsical power to give orders.*" (Pp. 160, 261.)

The speaker for the Romanist, (for it is written in the form of a dialogue,) making the precise objection of the Tractarians, observes, "the præminence of bishops is *jure divino*;" to which Orthodox answers thus :

"First, if you mean by *jure divino*, that which is according to the Scripture, then the præminence of bishops is *jure divino* ; for it hath been already proved to be according to the Scripture. Secondly, if by *jure divino* you mean the ordinance of God, in this sense also it may be said to be *jure divino*. For it is an ordinance of the apostle, whereunto they were directed by God's Spirit, even by the spirit of prophecy, and consequently the ordinance of God. But if by *jure divino*, you understand a law and commandment of God, binding all Christian Churches, universally, perpetually, unchangeably, and with such absolute necessity, that no other form of regiment may in any case be admitted ; in this sense neither may we grant it, nor yet can you prove it, to be *jure divino*." "The apostles, in their lifetime, ordained many bishops, and left a fair pattern to posterity. The Church, following the commodiousness thereof, embraced it in all ages through the Christian world." (*Ib.* p. 163.)

The Archdeacon then proceeds to defend the validity of the ordinations in the Foreign Reformed Churches, first on the ground of *necessity* ; to which the objector, after some discussion, ultimately replies : "Suppose that ordination might be devolved to presbyters in case of necessity ; yet the necessity ceasing, such extraordinary courses should likewise cease. Why, then, do they continue their former practice ? Why do they not now seek to receive

their orders from Protestant bishops?" To which Orthodox replies, "*The Churches of Germany need not to seek to foreign bishops, because they have superintendents or bishops among themselves. And as for other places which embrace the discipline of Geneva, they also have bishops in effect;*" which he proceeds to prove by showing that they have among them those who have "the substance of the office." And he concludes: "Thus much concerning the ministers of other Reformed Churches, wherein, if you will not believe us disputing for *the lawfulness of their calling*, yet you must give us leave to believe God Himself from heaven approving their ministry by pouring down a blessing upon their labors." (*Ib.* pp. 173-176.)

Another eminent divine of our Church was Dr. Crakanthorp; and he likewise justifies the Foreign Non-Episcopal Churches in this matter on the ground of necessity; and as it respects their not taking the first opportunity of restoring the Episcopal form of government, only remarks:

"Optamus quidem ex animo, ut cum lex illa necessitatis jam ablata sit, velint et omnes Ecclesiæ ad priscum et ab universali Ecclesia constantissime observatum ordinem, et ordinandi modum redire; clavesque suas Episcopis restituant: *sed optamus, non cogimus. Jus et imperium in eorum Ecclesias nec habemus nos, nec desideramus.*" (*Defens. Eccles. Anglic.* London, 1625, 4to. c. 41, § 12, pp. 246, 247.)

We must not forget also to notice the similar testimony of the learned Dr. Willet, in his *Synopsis Papismi*, of which the fifth edition was published in 1634, under the authority of the king's letters patent;

but we must content ourselves with referring our readers to the work. (See *5th Controv.* q. 3, p. 276.)

But one of the most important testimonies as to the doctrine of our Church and her most able divines on this subject, is that of Bishop Cosin, to which we have already referred. It occurs in a letter written from Paris in 1650 to a Mr. Cordel, who scrupled to communicate with the French Protestants. To the objection of Mr. Cordel, that "they have no priests," Dr. Cosin thus replies :

"Though we may safely say and maintain it, that their ministers are not so duly and rightly ordained as they should be by those prelates and bishops of the Church who since the apostles' time have only had the ordinary power and authority to make and constitute a priest, yet that, by reason of this defect, there is *a total nullity in their ordination, or that they be therefore no priests or ministers of the Church at all, because they are ordained by those only who are no more but priests and ministers among them ; for my part, I would be loath to affirm and determine it against them.* And these are my reasons. First: I conceive that the power of ordination was restrained to bishops rather by apostolical practice and the perpetual custom and canons of the Church, than by any absolute precept that either Christ or His apostles gave about it. Nor can I yet meet with any convincing argument to set it upon a more high and divine institution. From which customs and laws of the Universal Church (therein following the example of the apostles) though I reckon it to be a great presumption and fault for any particular Church to recede, and may truly say that *fieri non oportuit*, (when the college of mere presbyters shall ordain and make a priest,) yet I can not so peremptorily say, that *factum non valet*, and *pronounce the ordination to be utterly void.* For as in the case of baptism, we take just exception against a layman or a woman that presumes to give it, and may as justly punish them by the censures of the Church wherein they live, for taking upon them to do that office, which was never committed unto them ; yet, if once they have done it, we make not their act and administration of baptism void ; nor *presume we to iterate*

the sacrament after them ; so may it well be in the case of ordination and the ministers of the Reformed Congregations in France ; who are liable to give an account both to God and His Church in general for taking upon them to exercise that power which by the perpetual practice and laws of His Church they were never permitted to exercise, and may justly be faulted for it, both by the verdict of all others who are members of the Catholic Church, (as we are that adhere to the laws of it more strictly and peaceably than they do,) and by the censures of a lawful meeting or general council in that Church, which at any time shall come to have authority over them. And yet all this while, the act which they do, though it be disorderly done, and the ordinations which they make, though they make them unlawfully, *shall not be altogether null and invalid*, no more than the act of baptizing before mentioned, or the act of consecrating and administering the Eucharist by a priest that is suspended and restrained from exercising his power and office in the Church. Therefore, if at any time a minister so ordained in these French Churches came to incorporate himself in ours, and to receive a public charge or cure of souls among us in the Church of England, (as I have known some of them to have so done of late, and can instance in many other before my time,) our bishops did not reördain him before they admitted him to his charge, as they must have done, if his former ordination here in France had been void. Nor did our laws require more of him than to declare his public consent to the religion received amongst us, and to subscribe the Articles established. And I love not to be herein more wise or harder than our own Church is, which, because it hath never publicly condemned and pronounced the ordinations of the other Reformed Churches to be void, as it doth not those of the unreformed Churches, neither among the Papists, (though I hear that the ministers here in France and Geneva use so to do, who will not admit a Papist priest himself to exercise the office of a minister among them till they have reördained him ;) for my part, as to that particular, *I dare not take upon me to condemn or determine a nullity of their own ordinations against them ;* though in the interim I take it to be utterly a fault among them, and a great presumption, deserving a great censure to be inflicted on them, by such a power of the Church as may, by the grace of God, be at any time duly gathered together hereafter against them, as well for the amendment of many other disorders and defects in their

Church as for this particular inordinately ordination and defect of Episcopacy amongst them. Besides that this their boldness, presumption, and novelty (in setting up themselves without any invincible necessity that they had so to do, against the apostolical practice and perpetual order of God's Church till their days) was always faulted, and reserved for farther censure, in due time, which they have justly merited. Secondly.* There have been both learned and eminent men, (as well in former ages as in this, and even among the Roman Catholics as well as Protestants,) who have held and maintained it for good and passable divinity, that presbyters have the intrinsical power of ordination *in actu primo*; though for the avoiding of schism (as St. Hierom speaks) and preserving order and discipline in the Church, they have been restrained ever since the first times, and still are, (but where they take a liberty to themselves that was never duly given them,) from exercising their power *in actu secundo*; and, therefore, that however their act of ordaining of other presbyters shall be void, according to the strictness of the canon, (in regard they were universally prohibited from executing that act, and breaking the order and discipline of the Church,) yet that the same act shall not be simply void in the nature of the thing, in regard that the intrinsical power remained, when the exercise of it was suspended and taken from them. Of this opinion and judgment in old time were St. Hierom and his followers, alleged by Gratian, dist. 93; and of later times, the Master of the Sentences, lib. iv. dist. 24; Bonavent, *ibid.* 9, 3, art. 2; with other schoolmen, as Aureol. *ibid.* art. 2; and Anton. de Rosellis, *De Potest. Imper. et Papali*, part iv. c. 18; and in this later age, not only Armachanus, in *Sum. ad quæst.* art. 1, 11, c. 2, 3, etc., and c. 7, Alphons. a Castro, (verb. Episcopus,) Mich. Medina, *De sacr. hom. orig.* lib. 1, c. 5, among the Roman Catholics; but likewise Cassander in *Consult.* art. 14, besides Melancthon, Clementius, [? Chemnitius,] Gerardus, and Calixtus, amongst the Protestants; and Bishop Jewel, (Def. 2, p. c. 3, d. 1, etc. 9 div. 1;) Dr. Field, of the *Church*, lib. 3, c. 39; Hooker, *Eccles. Pol.* lib. 3, § 3, ult., and Mason, among the divines of our own Church. All which authors are of so great credit with you and me, that though we are not altogether of their mind, yet we

* We have taken the liberty of making the second reason commence here, (as it evidently does,) instead of at the beginning of the previous sentence.

would be loath to let the world see that we contradict them all, and condemn their judgment openly; *as needs we must, if we hold the contrary, and say that the ministers of the Reformed French Churches, for want of Episcopal ordination, have no order at all.*" [Our readers will observe here what the view of Bishop Cosin was as to the sentiments of Jewel, Hooker, Field, and Mason.]

Dr. Cosin adds several other reasons, with which, however, we need not trouble our readers, except the following:

"If the Church and kingdom of England have acknowledged them, (as they did in admitting of them when they fled thither for refuge, and placing them by public authority in divers of the most eminent cities among us, without prohibition to any of our own people to go and communicate with them,) why should we, that are but private persons, utterly disclaim their communion in their own country?"

And, therefore, he concludes that:

"Considering there is no prohibition of our Church against it, (*as there is against our communicating with the Papists*, and that well-grounded upon the Scripture and will of God,) I do not see but that both you, and others that are with you, may (either in case of necessity, when you can not have the sacrament among yourselves, or in regard of declaring your unity in professing the same religion, which you and they do) go otherwhiles to communicate reverently with them of the French Church."*

Similar sentiments are expressed by him in a letter published by Dr. R. Watson, (Lond. 1684, 8vo,) entitled *Dr. Cosin's Opinion, when Dean of Peterborough, and in exile, for communicating rather with Geneva than Rome*; and also in his last Will, inserted in the Preface to his *Regni Angliæ Relig. et Gubern. Eccles.* Lond. 1729, 4to.

* The whole of this letter is given by Basire and Bp. Fleetwood, (as referred to above.)

It is almost unnecessary to refer to the *Irenicum* of Bishop Stillingfleet, (first published by him in 1659, and a second time in 1662,) where he maintains, in a long and elaborate discussion of the question, that no particular form of Church government is necessary, and points out that "the stoutest champions for Episcopacy" had acknowledged, "that ordination performed by presbyters in cases of necessity is valid;" "which," he adds, "doth evidently prove that Episcopal government is not founded upon any unalterable Divine right." (Pt. ii. c. 8.)

Thus also speaks Dean Sherlock:

"I do allow Episcopacy to be an Apostolical institution, and the truly ancient and catholic government of the Church, of which more hereafter; but yet in this very book I prove industriously and at large, that in case of necessity, when bishops can not be had, a church may be a *truly catholic church*, and such as we may and ought to communicate with, *without bishops*, in vindication of some Foreign Reformed Churches who have none; and therefore I do not make Episcopacy so absolutely necessary to catholic communion as to unchurch all churches which have it not." "The Church of England does not deny but that, in case of necessity, the ordination of presbyters may be valid." (*Vindic. of some Prot. Principles, &c.*, reprinted in Gibson's *Preserv.* vol. iii. pp. 410, 432.)

So the excellent Dr. Claget:

"The Church of England doth not unchurch those parts of Christendom that hold the unity of the faith." (See *Brief Disc. conc. the Notes of the Church*, pp. 166-169.)

Even the non-juror Archbishop Sancroft, in some Admonitions issued to the clergy of his Province in 1688, speaks in fraternal terms of the Foreign Reformed Churches, exhorting his clergy—

“That they warmly and most affectionately exhort them [that is, “our brethren the Protestant Dissenters”] to join with us in daily fervent prayer to the God of peace for the universal *blessed union of all Reformed Churches both at home and abroad* against our common enemies; that all they, who do confess the holy name of our dear Lord, and do agree in the truth of His holy word, may also meet in one holy communion, and live in perfect unity and godly love.” (*D’Oyly’s Life of Sancroft*, i. 325; or *Wilk. Conc.* iv. 619.)

For the sentiments of Archbishop Wake, to the same effect, our readers may consult some letters (written in 1719) given in the 4th Append. to *Mosheim’s Eccles. Hist.* translated by Maclaine, Cent. xviii. No. xix.–xxii.; one of which is to “the pastors and professors of Geneva,” whom he addresses as *fratres charissimi*; and in another (No. xix) he says:

“*Ecclesias Reformatas etsi in aliquibus a nostra Anglicana dissentientes, libenter amplector. Optarem equidem regimen episcopale. . . . et ab iis omnibus fuisset retentum. . . . Interim absit ut ego tam ferrei pectoris sim, ut ob ejusmodi defectum (sic mihi absque omni invidia appellare liceat) aliquas earum a communione nostra abscindendas credam; aut, cum quibusdam furiosis inter nos scriptoribus, eas nulla vera ac valida sacramenta habere, adeoque vix Christianos esse pronuntiem.*” (*Mosheim*, by Maclaine, vol. vi. p. 184, ed. 1826.) And in a letter to Father Courayer, dated July 9, 1724, he again expresses the same sentiments. (*Mosheim*, *ib.* p. 30, Cent. xvii. § 23.)

In 1764, we have Archbishop Secker following him in the same strain:

“Our inclination is to live in friendship with *all the Protestant Churches*. We assist and protect those on the continent of Europe as well as we are able. We show our regard to that of Scotland as often as we have an opportunity.” (*Ans. to Mayhew*, p. 68. *Life* prefixed to *Sermons*, ed. 1770, p. lxvi.)

And, defending our Reformation, in one of his sermons against the Romanists, he says:

“Supposing we had even acted without, and separated from, our Church governors, as our Protestant brethren abroad were forced to do: was there not a cause? When the word of God was hidden from men . . . when Church authority, by supporting such things as these, became inconsistent with the ends for which it was established, *what remedy was there but to throw it off and form new establishments?* *If in these there were any irregularities, they were the faults of those who forced men into them, and are of no consequence in comparison with the reason that made a change necessary.*” (*Serm.* vol. vi. pp. 400, 401.)

Still more strongly speaks the late Bishop Tomline:

“I readily acknowledge that there is no precept in the New Testament which commands that every Church should be governed by bishops. No Church can exist without some government; but though there must be rules and orders for the proper discharge of the offices of public worship, though there must be fixed regulations concerning the appointment of ministers; and though a subordination among them is expedient in the highest degree, yet it does not follow that all these things must be precisely the same in every Christian country; they may vary with the other varying circumstances of human society, with the extent of a country, the manners of its inhabitants, the nature of its civil government, and many other peculiarities which might be specified. As it has not pleased our Almighty Father to prescribe any particular form of civil government for the security of temporal comforts to His rational creatures, so neither has He prescribed any particular form of ecclesiastical polity as absolutely necessary to the attainment of eternal happiness. . . . As the Scriptures do not prescribe any definite form of church government, so they contain no directions concerning the establishment of a power by which ministers are to be admitted to their sacred office.” And therefore, though he advocates Episcopal ordination as “instituted by the apostles,” he does not maintain it as necessary. (*Expos. of Art.* 23, ed. 1799, pp. 396, 398.)

We close the list with the testimony of our late respected Primate, Dr. Howley.

In a statement published by his authority in 1841, the Foreign Protestant Non-Episcopal Churches are spoken of as "the less perfectly constituted of the Protestant Churches of Europe." (*Statem. resp. Jerusalem Bishopric*, p. 5.)

And in 1835, a letter was addressed by the same Prelate, in the name of himself and his "*brother bishops*" to "the Moderator of the Company of Pastors at Geneva," expressing their "*high respect for the Protestant Churches on the Continent*," and speaking of the *Genevan Reformation* as a "noble achievement, which brought light out of darkness, and rescued your Church from the shackles of Papal domination and the tyrannical imposition of a corrupt faith, and a superstitious ritual," wrought by "illustrious men, who, under the direction of Almighty God, were the instruments of this happy deliverance," "an event not less glorious to Geneva than conducive to the success of the Reformation." The whole letter has been so recently published in the public Journals, that we need only give these short extracts.

Could it have been supposed, that, sixteen years after, his successor in the Primacy was to be assailed with a storm of vituperation, and even branded by an Archdeacon of his Province as a heretic, for merely saying that the Church of England does not deny the validity of the Orders of such Churches?

But in those sixteen years a new school has sprung up in our Church, chiefly composed of its younger members, who having formed in their own minds,

from their perusal of Romish and Tractarian works, a Procrustean standard of ecclesiastical doctrine and polity, are apparently endeavoring, in the total disregard of the manifest tenets of our Church, to force upon it a position and character which its whole history repudiates. The right of private judgment has rarely been exercised with more unbridled arrogance than by those among us who professedly disown it. Under the thin veil of high-sounding phrases, "the Church," "Catholic consent," and such like, the Romish dreams of hot-headed or prejudiced, and often very ill-informed individuals, are urged upon the public as indubitable verities, which it were a sin to suppose that our Church does not hold; and by which all who differ from them, from the highest to the lowest, are to be judged. We say deliberately, even as to the heads of the party, *very ill-informed* individuals; and on this ground, that whatever may be their learning in other respects, (and it is too often to be seen principally in the trifles of the Church ceremonial,) they seem rather to avoid than examine those sources of information which best show what the doctrine of our Church really is, as was abundantly proved in the Gorham case; and palm upon our Church views and doctrines which they have gathered by their private judgment from antiquity.

But our space warns us that we must restrain our pen. We deeply regret that our Church should be continually suffering from these internal dissensions. But we fear that, if she is still to remain a witness for Protestant truth, a conflict awaits her, both from internal and external foes, more severe than any she

has yet encountered. Would that we could see a more lively consciousness of this coming struggle manifested among those, lay and clerical, who, under God, must be the instruments for her preservation. Few, however, seem to realize the true character of the present times.

Meanwhile, no fear need be entertained that the public discussion of Tractarian dogmas will show that our Church has a leaning toward them. Just the contrary will, we are convinced, be the case. And we leave the Archbishop's assailants quietly to weigh the testimonies given above, and judge for themselves how much they are likely to gain by their recent outbreak—an outbreak as unprecedented for its contempt for constituted authorities as it is destitute of even the shadow of an excuse for it.

APPENDIX A.

FURTHER illustrations and proofs are here given from the replies which Mr. Goode made to the various attacks* upon his *Vindication*.

ON THE DOCTRINE OF THE ARTICLES.

(*Reply to Bishop of Exeter.*)

The 19th Article is "Of the Church," and stands thus: "The visible Church of Christ is a congregation of faithful men, in which the pure word of God is preached, and the Sacraments be duly ministered according to God's ordinance, in all things that of necessity be requisite to the same."

From this the Bishop of Exeter deduces three positions: *First*, that in any body professing to be a Church of Christ, "the pure word of God" is to be preached; a deduction which I shall not dispute. *Secondly*, it must be "*preached*;" "THAT IS," says his Lordship, "publicly set forth for the instruction of the people *by persons duly empowered, or sent, for that purpose*;" for we know from St. Paul that the word can not be 'preached'—that is, not merely recited or

* These attacks raised side issues which showed the weakness of the cause which they were raised to defend. To reproduce them would be a weariness to the reader, and expose us to the charge of proving a second, third, and fourth time what had been already made certain. The only points of any interest in the various pamphlets are added in the extracts following.

taught, but *proclaimed with assurance and authority*—except by those who are duly ‘sent,’ authorized by Him whose word they proclaim, *κηρυκες*—men unto whom God ‘hath committed the word of reconciliation.’ ” (P. 14.)

Now I beg to ask, where does his Lordship find all this *in the Article*? The Article merely uses the word “preached.” Does his Lordship really suppose that any one in search of truth will allow him to raise out of this single word his whole doctrine of the sort of commission necessary to qualify a man for preaching the Gospel? Has he forgotten that even laymen were sometimes allowed to preach in the early Church, and that in the presence of a bishop? Or, still more, has he forgotten that “they which were scattered abroad, upon the persecution that arose about Stephen, travelled as far as Phenice, and Cyprus, and Antioch, *preaching the word*, etc. . . . And the hand of the Lord was with them, and a great number believed and turned unto the Lord?” (Acts 11: 19–21.) Or (to mention no more) has he forgotten Apollos, who, when “knowing only the baptism of John,” and therefore certainly not *ordained* by any apostle or Christian bishop, “spake and taught diligently the things of the Lord,” which I suppose amounts to *preaching*; and after receiving farther instruction from Aquila and Priscilla, “helped them much which had believed through grace; for he mightily convinced the Jews, and that *publicly*, showing by the Scriptures that Jesus was Christ?” (Acts 18: 24, etc.) All these, it seems, knew nothing of the Bishop of Exeter’s doctrine, that nobody might, or even *could*,

“preach,” but one specially ordained and publicly set apart by Divine commission for the purpose.

Of course I am not here touching the question of the necessity of an inward Divine call and qualification for being an ambassador of Christ, or of what Apostolical practice teaches us to be proper for the due appointment of a preacher of the Gospel in a regularly constituted Church. All I wish now to point attention to is the absurdity (for I can use no milder term) of attempting to raise a whole system of church government out of the single word “preach.”

His Lordship’s *third* deduction is that, as the Article requires, that in a Church “the Sacraments be duly ministered in all those things that of necessity are requisite to the same,” and the 25th Article says, that sacraments are “effectual signs of grace, etc., by which God doth work invisibly in us,” etc.; and a Homily says, that “in them God embraceth us,” etc.; “manifestly, therefore, among ‘those things that of necessity are requisite to the duly ministering the same’ must be *authority from God*, given to those who minister them;” and it is added, that “our Church has not left the point to be deduced by our sense of what is right: it is expressly declared in the 26th Article that they who minister the Sacraments ‘do not the same in their own name, but in Christ’s, and do minister by *his commission and authority*,’” and hence the consequence is deduced, that the Sacraments can only be “duly ministered” “by those who have *commission and authority from God* given to them for that purpose;” in other words, individuals

divinely commissioned "for that purpose." Now, one single consideration annihilates the whole of this argumentation; for if it were correct, lay-baptism would be wholly invalid, which the Bishop well knows is not the doctrine of our Church; and therefore his third deduction is as groundless as his second. The question, whether non-episcopally ordained ministers may not be said to minister by Christ's commission and authority, is one that will more properly come under consideration in reviewing the meaning of the 23d Article; to which the Bishop next directs our attention.

This Article is entitled, "Of ministering in the Congregation," and runs thus: "It is not lawful for any man to take upon him the office of public preaching or ministering the Sacraments in the congregation, before he be lawfully called and sent to execute the same. And those we ought to judge lawfully called and sent, which be chosen and called to this work by men who have public authority given unto them in the congregation to call and send ministers into the Lord's vineyard."

It is difficult to understand how any one can read this Article, and not see how carefully it is worded so as not to exclude from "lawful calling" the ministers of the Foreign Protestant Churches. As Professor Hey says, in his *Commentary on the Articles*, the expression "who have public authority given unto them in the congregation," "seems to leave the manner of giving the power of ordaining quite free; it seems as if any religious society might, consistently with this Article, appoint officers, with power of Or-

dination, by election, representation, or lot; as if, therefore, the right to ordain did not depend upon any uninterrupted *succession*." (*Lect. in Div.* vol. iv. p. 166.) And when we recollect the nature of the intercourse and communion that took place between our Reformers and those Churches and their ministers, both at the time when these Articles were first drawn up, in the reign of Edward VI., and at their reëstablishment in the reign of Elizabeth, there is but one way of accounting for a long argumentation, an effusion of ink covering EIGHTEEN pages, to prove that by "men to whom public authority is given," etc., the Article "*must mean Bishops*" (!) and that "*our Church holds that the power of Ordination is in Bishops only.*" (!!) (P. 33.)

Further, of the 23d Article, the Bishop of Exeter says that it asserts "the necessity of lawful mission generally in the former of its two propositions—in the latter, THE NECESSITY *that this mission be mediately from God*, TRANSMITTED BY SUCCESSION FROM THOSE WHO, AT THE FIRST, RECEIVED THE POWER OF THUS GIVING IT IMMEDIATELY FROM OUR LORD HIMSELF." (Pp. 19, 20.) Such is the doctrine which his Lordship has the courage to assert is *laid down in the latter part of the Article!*

He says: "There are three several members of the proposition which we are considering: I. That lawful mission to the Christian ministry must be from God by an outward call. II. That we must not look for any outward call from God except mediately through men. III. That it must be given through men who have themselves received the power of transmitting

it, publicly given to them by those who have themselves publicly received the power of giving that power from others similarly empowered; in other words, in uninterrupted succession from the Apostles themselves." (P. 20.)

Now here it is obvious, that his Lordship has drawn from the Article propositions not contained in it. The Article does not touch the question of the call "*from God*," but only that of the external call by men. To assert, therefore, that the Article says that lawful mission must be "*from God* by an outward call" is a direct and palpable misrepresentation of it.

And the Bishop's own authority, Bishop Pearson, whom he so highly extols (p. 52)—and not without reason—might have shown him, and in the very passage to which he has referred us, his error in introducing these words into the Article. For Bishop Pearson, treating of the mode of Ordination in the Church of England, says: "*Ordinaria vocatio fit a Deo et per homines. Quatenus est a Deo, est interna; quatenus est per homines, est externa*," (*Minor Theol. Wks.* i. 291, 292.)

In defense of the third proposition, the Bishop argues thus: That when the Article says that the persons through whom lawful mission must be given, are "men who have public authority given unto them in the congregation," it clearly means that this power "is so given *by God—publicè in Ecclesia*; that is, in some outward manner by which it shall be publicly known in the Church to be given;" the Divine Being being represented, after the first bestowal of the power, by a succession of representatives of those to whom

the power was first given. For, says the Bishop, "as these [that is, modern Bishops who give power of mission] must in like manner have received their power of mission from others, who had received it in like manner, the series must be carried backwards, until, as we before said, it reaches the Apostles, whom our Lord sent, 'as the Father had sent Him,' that is, with power to send others." (P. 22.)

This is the foundation on which his whole argumentation rests; and it is clearly derived from his ADDING words to the Article calculated to carry out his own views. The Article clearly implies, that there is power *in a Church* to authorize certain of its members to call and appoint others to the office of the ministry, which exactly meets the case of the Foreign Protestant Churches. The words "authority given unto them *by God* in the Congregation," are very different from what we find in the Article. They would imply that the Congregation, or Church, had no voice in the matter, and could not authorize any of their body to do any act of the kind. So that the words which the Bishop has thus foisted into the Article completely change the character of its doctrine. They just determine what the Article has studiously left open, and determine it in opposition to the known sentiments of those who drew up the Article. They make it necessary that the mission should be given by some individual or individuals specially, and individually, and publicly commissioned by God himself, apart from the Church, to bestow it; while the terms of the Article imply that God has left sufficient power with the Church to act in such a matter.

The Article is evidently drawn up so as to *comprehend* the Foreign Protestant Churches. It does not pretend to define exactly what our own Church's particular mode of calling and sending ministers is; but it states the limits of what may be considered a lawful calling. Most just and pertinent are the remarks of Bishop Burnet, in his Exposition of this Article:

"If," he says, "a company of Christians find the public worship where they live to be so defiled that they can not with a good conscience join in it, and if they do not know of any place to which they can conveniently go, where they may worship God purely and in a regular way : if, I say, such a Body finding some that have been ordained, though to the lower functions, should submit itself entirely to their conduct; or, *finding none of those, should by a common consent desire some of their own number to minister to them in holy things*, and should, upon that beginning, grow up to a regulated constitution, though we are very sure that this is quite out of all rule, and could not be done without a very great sin, unless the necessity were great and apparent; yet, if the necessity is real and not feigned, *this is not condemned or annulled by the Article*; for when this grows to a constitution, and when it was begun by the consent of a Body who are supposed to have an authority in such an extraordinary case, whatever some hotter spirits have thought of this since that time, *yet we are very sure, that not only those who penned the Articles, but the body of this Church for above half an age after, did, notwithstanding those irregularities, acknowledge the Foreign Churches so constituted to be true Churches as to all the essentials of a Church, though they had been at first irregularly formed, and continued still to be in an imperfect state. AND, THEREFORE, THE GENERAL WORDS IN WHICH THIS PART OF THE ARTICLE IS FRAMED, SEEM TO HAVE BEEN DESIGNED ON PURPOSE NOT TO EXCLUDE THEM.*"

In fact, the Article requires nothing more as necessary for lawful calling than what is required in the Confessions of several of the Foreign Protestant Non-Episcopal Churches; as, for instance, the Hel-

vetic, (Art. 16,) Bohemian, (c. 9,) and Belgic, (Art. 31.) And, therefore, the Bishop might just as well attempt to fasten his doctrine upon the Confessions of these Non-Episcopal Churches as upon that of the Church of England.

And so completely opposed is Hooker to the Bishop's interpretation of the Article, that he distinctly intimates that there is no "heavenly law" whereby it may appear, "that the Lord Himself hath appointed presbyters forever to be under the regiment of Bishops," and that "their authority" is "a sword which the *Church hath power to take from them*," (*Eccl. Pol.* vii. 5;) and expressly says that "the whole Church visible" is "the true original subject of all power;" and that though "*it hath not ordinarily ALLOWED any other than Bishops alone to ordain*, howbeit, as the ordinary course is ordinarily in all things to be observed, so it may be, in some cases, not unnecessary that we decline from the ordinary ways; and that "there may be sometimes very just and sufficient reason to allow Ordination made without a Bishop." (*Ib.* 14.)

But the 23d Article, says his Lordship, "leaves to a subsequent Article, the 36th, to tell us who they are to whom this power is given;" the 36th Article sanctioning the Ordinal. (P. 27.)

The Bishop then gives the passage thus: "To the intent that these Orders should be continued and reverently used and esteemed in the Church of England," "no man shall be accounted or taken to be a lawful Bishop, Priest, or Deacon in the Church of England, or suffered to execute any of the said func-

tions, except he be called, tried, examined, and admitted thereunto, according to the form hereafter following, *or hath formerly received Episcopal consecration or ordination.*”

And in his Lordship's observations upon this passage, he lays the greatest stress upon the concluding words: “or hath formerly received Episcopal consecration or ordination.” Now these words, as his Lordship well knows, were not inserted till the revision of the Book in 1661, by the Laudian divines, who then had the upper hand. He knows also, upon the testimony of Bishop Cosin and others,* lying before him when he wrote, that, in the previous period of our Church, persons having only Presbyterian Orders were admitted to minister in our Church, and that it was the general opinion of the Bishops that there was nothing to prevent this. Hence, not only was there evidence, that our Church admitted the validity of the Orders of the Foreign Protestant Churches, so far as those churches themselves were concerned, but persons so ordained were allowed to minister in our own Church. And the insertion of those words in 1661, requiring Episcopal Ordination for *those who minister in our Church*—obviously with a view to the Presbyterians, who, in the civil war, had usurped the places of the Episcopalian clergy—can not affect the doctrine of our Church on the abstract question, whether the Foreign Protestant Churches are destitute of any validly ordained pastors.

* See *Doctrine*, etc., pp. 29, 30.

The direction here given, as it stood both before and after the Review in 1661, is strictly limited to what is required "*in the Church of England.*" There is a marked abstinence from any statement of the necessity of Episcopal Orders for a valid ministry, which it is impossible to conceive that our Reformers would have observed, if they had held the Bishop of Exeter's notions. And when we couple this with their known conduct towards the Foreign Protestant Churches, not the smallest doubt can be left upon the mind of any reasonable inquirer after *the truth* that they did not hold them.

But the Bishop supports his view by two arguments. The first is this. He says: "If persons from Berlin and Geneva, calling themselves ministers of Christ's Church, are really such ministers, it would be a direct act of schism for our Church to reject their ministry; for all who are Christ's ministers at all, are His ministers throughout His whole Church," (P. 30.) But what a mere cobweb is this! Has not a Church a right to say to those ministers who come here from a Church under a different form of government: "We have laid down a rule which we consider most in accordance with Apostolical usage, requiring a certain mode of introduction to the ministry among us, and we think it inexpedient to break it by admitting others not so qualified?" Does it follow from this, that our Church holds them to be destitute of all right to exercise the ministerial office any where? Where does his Lordship derive his authority for denying to his Church such a prudential mode of action, and shutting her up to the alter-

native of either admitting to hold office in her communion any minister of a Foreign Church, whatever its form of government may be, or denying that such a one has any right to exercise the ministerial office to any body of Christians on the face of the earth? The fact is, that his Lordship has in this point, as well as in his advocacy of the exclusive admissibility of one form of Ecclesiastical government, been following in the steps of the early Puritans. His own words are almost identical with those of the notorious Puritan Travers to Archbishop Whitgift. Travers, to show that he had a right to be allowed to minister in the Church of England, though having only Presbyterian Orders, (and he could hardly be said to have any,) urged, that, "the universal and perpetual practice of all Christendom, in all places, and in all ages, proveth the ministers lawfully made in any Church of sound profession in faith, ought to be acknowledged such in any other;" he means, so as to be allowed to *minister* in it. To which Archbishop Whitgift (who, as we know from his writings, *admitted the VALIDITY of the Orders of the Foreign Protestant Churches*, but held that "*the laws of this realm require that such as are to be allowed as ministers in this Church of England should be ordered by a Bishop, and subscribe to the Articles before him*") replies to the argument thus: "Excepting always such Churches as allow of Presbytery, and practise it." He considered that in such a case an Episcopal Church might fairly object to one not ordained as she required, acting as one of *her own* ministers. But he did not deny the validity of Presbyterian Orders

in the abstract. In the same paper to which I am now referring, he admits that Whittingham "was ordained minister by those which *had authority* in the Church" in which he was ordained, though he held such Orders not a sufficient qualification for ministering in the Church of England. (See *Strype's Whittingham*, App. bk. 3, n. 30.)

The second argument is this, that if any of the ministers of Non-Episcopal Churches wish to be ministers of the Church of England, "they must, as a preliminary, renounce all claim at present to any ministerial character whatsoever," and "present themselves as lay candidates for holy orders;" "and yet for our Church thus to insist on their submitting to be ordained anew, if they already have Orders, would be, *not merely an act of schism, but a manifest desecration of Christ's ordinance, a most sinful rejection of His commission.*" (Pp. 30, 31.)

High-sounding words these, no doubt, and very characteristic of their author. But the question is, What truth is there in them? None at all. There is no such "renunciation" required. And the whole notion about the "desecration of Christ's ordinance" involved in such a step, is entirely opposed to the views of our best divines of all parties. What does Archbishop Bramhall say in his *Letters of Orders*, when ordaining one who had previously had only Scotch Presbyterian Orders: "*Non annihilantes priores ordines, (si quos habuit,) nec invaliditatem eorundem determinantes, multo minus omnes ordines sacros Ecclesiarum Forinsecarum condemnantes, quos proprio Judici relinquimus, sed SOLUMMODO SUP-*

PLENTES, *quicquid prius defuit per canones Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ requisitum*, et providentes paci Ecclesiæ, ut schismatis tullatur occasio, et conscientiis fidelium satisfiat, nec ulli dubitent de ejus ordinatione, aut actus sous presbyteriales tanquam invalidos aversentur." (*Works*, Oxf. ed. vol. i. p. xxxvii.)

Let his Lordship's friends determine which is the best authority, the Bishop of Exeter or Archbishop Bramhall.

But, as this is an important point, I shall add some farther testimonies.

And, first, let us hear the opinion of Archbishop Leighton, one whose learning as well as piety is unquestionable. When consecrated Bishop, in 1661, by some of the English bishops, he was required by them to submit to be first ordained Deacon and Priest, on the ground partly of the Act of Uniformity, and partly that, though it might be reasonable to allow Presbyterian Orders under some circumstances, yet that his had been received from those who were in a state of schism, and had without reason revolted from their bishops. And Leighton's view on the subject is thus stated by his intimate friend, Bishop Burnet: "Leighton did not stand much upon it. *He did not think Orders given without bishops were null and void.* He thought the forms of government were not settled by such positive laws as were unalterable; but only by Apostolic practices, which, as he thought, authorized Episcopacy as the best form. Yet he did not think it necessary to the being of a Church. *But he thought that every Church might make such rules of Ordination as they pleased,*

and that they might reördain all that came to them from any other Church ; and that the reördaining a priest ordained in another Church imported no more but that they received him into Orders according to their rules, and did not infer the annulling the Orders he had formerly received." (*Hist. of his Own Times*, vol. i. p. 140.)

The testimony of Archbishop Leighton, therefore, is directly against the Bishop on *all* the points of the case.

But a still more important testimony perhaps than even these is that of the learned Bingham, the author of the *Antiquities of the Christian Church*. He says, in his *French Church's Apology for the Church of England* :

"Nor do I see what can be urged farther in this case, unless it be the business of reördination, which some reckon so great a charge against the Act of Uniformity ; because it obliges every beneficiary to receive Episcopal ordination, according to the form and rites of the Church of England. *But what harm there is in this, I confess I never yet could see ;* and I am sure there is nothing in it contrary to the principles or practice of Geneva, nor perhaps of the whole French Church. For at Geneva it is their common practice, whenever they remove a minister from one Church to another, to give him a new and solemn ordination by imposition of hands and prayer. . . . Now, if it be lawful, by the rules of the Church of Geneva, for a minister to receive a new solemn ordination, when he is translated from one Church to another ; why can not men in England consent to receive a new ordination, when the law requires it, in order to settle themselves regularly in any Church ? especially when *it is for the sake of peace and union*, and to take off all manner of *doubtfulness and scruples* from the people. *I dispute not now, whether their former ordinations were valid* [this question, we see, he does not consider to affect the point to be determined, namely, whether they could properly submit to reördination] ; it is certain, they are not more valid than those of Geneva ; nor can they themselves think them more valid

than the ministers of Geneva think theirs; wherefore, if it be lawful at Geneva for a minister to receive a new ordination, because the laws require it, I do not see what can make it unlawful in England to submit to the same thing, in compliance with the law, when men have no other regular way to settle themselves in any cure; *let their opinion of their former ordination be what it will*, WHICH COMES NOT INTO THE PRESENT DISPUTE. For even supposing *their former ordination* [that is, the Presbyterian in this country] *to be valid, I show they may submit to a new ordination without sin*; and if the will be peaceable, they ought to do it, after the example of Geneva, rather than set up separate meetings and preach against the will of their superiors, to the disturbance of the peace of the Church." (*Bingham's Works*, vol. ix. ed. 1845, pp. 296, 297.)

APPENDIX B.

ON THE MEANING OF THE TERM "DIVINE INSTITUTION."

(*From reply to Mr. Harrington.*)

It would surely have been more unambiguous to speak of the *Apostolical* institution of Episcopacy, than to use the epithet *Divine*. I am quite aware that it has been frequently used, and also of the sense in which it may be legitimately applied; but I am also aware, that whenever the matter has been controverted, it has been found necessary to point out two or three senses in which the word "Divine" may be used, and (with *very few* exceptions) to admit that in one only is it applicable to the origin of Episcopacy, namely, as instituted by men divinely inspired; and in a formal definition of this kind, a vague phraseology is surely to be avoided. Now of the Apostoli-

cal institution of Episcopacy I make no doubt; but then I have equally little doubt of the Apostolical institution of the practice of anointing the sick with oil. And though I would not place the importance of one on a par with the importance of the other, yet if the mere fact of a thing having been Apostolically instituted, renders its observance indispensably necessary in all ages and all parts of the Church of Christ, the one of these is as indispensably necessary as the other. And if this argument does not hold good, then the argument of Mr. Harrington for the indispensable necessity of Episcopacy from this fact falls to the ground.

APPENDIX C.

ON THE MEANING OF THE TERM "NECESSITY" WHEN
USED BY SOME OF OUR DIVINES AS ALONE JUSTIFYING
PRESBYTERIAN ORDINATION.

(Reply to Harrington.)

It is often said, that such and such Presbyterian Churches might now, if they pleased, receive Episcopacy from more than one Episcopal Church, and, therefore, that they can not urge the plea of necessity. But it is clear that the word necessity was not used by them in this strict sense. I refer, in proof of this, to the language of Saravia and Crakanthorp,* both of them men in the highest repute with my oppo-

* See *Doctrine*, etc., pp. 22, 39.

nents; and the latter of whom distinctly says, speaking of his wish that those Churches would avail themselves of the opportunity they then possessed of obtaining Episcopal Orders, "*sed optamus, non cogimus: jus et imperium in eorum Ecclesias nec habemus nos, nec desideramus.*" And this opportunity they have had for more than two centuries just as much as at the present day; so that all the testimonies of our divines since that period, such as Mason, Cosin, etc. etc., were written under similar circumstances to those which now exist.

It is clear, also, that when Saravia spoke of necessity, he was alluding to a necessity arising from the corruption of the Bishops in any particular Church for the sound presbyters of that Church to perpetuate their order by admitting others to it themselves, though under ordinary circumstances they would have had no right to do so. He was contemplating each Church as an independent community that had a right to order its own affairs.

And when it is urged, that no necessity exists now for the Foreign Reformed Churches lacking Episcopacy, because certain Episcopal Churches would give them Bishops, I am much inclined to doubt whether even this could be proved, for there may be still many impediments, some arising out of their relations to the different States in which they are found, to their *reception* of Episcopacy, whatever may be the willingness of other Churches to *give* it to them.

APPENDIX D.

ON THE MEANING OF THE TERM JUS DIVINUM.

(*Reply to Bishop of Exeter.*)

BISHOP SANDERSON points out two different senses of the phrase *jus divinum*, observing :

“Sometimes it importeth a *Divine precept* (which is indeed the primary and most proper signification) when it appeareth by some clear, express, and peremptory command of God in His Word, to be the will of God that the thing so commanded should be perpetually and universally observed. Of which sort, setting aside the Articles of the Creed, and the moral duties of the law, (which are not much pertinent to the present inquiry,) there are, as I take it, very few things that can be said to be of *Divine positive right* under the New Testament. *The preaching of the Gospel and administration of the Sacraments are two ; which, when I have named, I think I have named all.* But there is a secondary and more extended signification of that term, which is also of frequent use among divines. In which sense such things as, having no express command in the Word, yet are found to have authority and warrant from the institution, example, and approbation either of Christ Himself or His Apostles ; and have (in regard of the importance and usefulness of the things themselves) been held, by the consentient judgment of all the Churches of Christ in the primitive and succeeding ages, needful to be continued ; such things I say are (though not so properly as the former, yet) usually and *interpretative* said to be of *Divine right*. Of which sort I take the observation of the Lord’s day, the ordering the keys, the distinction of presbyters and deacons, and some other things (not all perhaps of equal consequence) to be. Unto *Jus Divinum* in that former acceptation, is required a Divine precept ; in this latter, it sufficeth thereunto that a thing be of Apostolical institution or practice. Which ambiguity is the more to be

heeded, for that the observation thereof is of great use for the avoiding of sundry mistakes, that through the ignorance or neglect thereof daily happen to the engaging of men in endless disputes, and entangling their consciences in unnecessary scruples."

And having thus pointed out these two senses of the term *Jus Divinum*, he proceeds to show in what manner the phrase is to be applied in the matter of Episcopacy. And he says:

"Now that the government of the Churches of Christ by bishops is of Divine right in that first and stricter sense, is an opinion at least of *great PROBABILITY*, and such as may more easily and upon better grounds be defended *than confuted*. . . . Yet because it is both inexpedient to maintain a dispute where it needs not, and needless to contend for more, where less will serve the turn; I find that our divines that have travailed most in this argument, where they purposely treat of it, do rather choose to stand to the tenure of Episcopacy *ex Apostolica designatione*, than to hold a contest upon the title of *Jus Divinum*, no necessity requiring the same to be done. They, therefore, that so speak of this government as established by Divine right, are not all of them necessarily so to be understood, as if they meant it in that first and stricter one. Sufficient it is for the justification of the Church of England in the constitution and government thereof, that it is (as certainly it is) of Divine right in the latter and larger signification: that is to say, of Apostolical institution and approbation; exercised by the Apostles themselves, and by other persons in their times, appointed and enabled thereunto by them, according to the will of our Lord Jesus Christ, and by virtue of the commission they had received from him."

So that all he ventures to say in favor of Episcopacy being *jure divino* in the strict sense of the phrase—which alone would make it of absolute necessity—is that it appears to him to be "an *opinion* at least of *great PROBABILITY*;" and he admits, that our divines for the most part only contend for the *apostolical* institution of Episcopacy.

He then remarks, that this latter view is "a part of the established doctrine of the Church of England," (in which I entirely agree with him,) and that it "hath been constantly and uniformly maintained by our best writers, and by all the sober, orderly, and orthodox sons of this Church." (*Episcop. not prejud. to Reg. Power*, Lond. 1673, Sec. II. §§ 3-6.)

The latter is a somewhat large assertion, but no doubt true of a great majority of such divines. But then, as I have already abundantly shown, those among them who held this view maintained *also* the validity under some circumstances of Presbyterian Ordinations.

APPENDIX E.

MORALITY OF TRACTARIANISM.

(*Introduction to Vindication.*)

THERE is nothing more painful perhaps in the whole Tractarian movement, than the frequent disregard to truth by which, throughout its course, it has been characterized. Men entertaining Tractarian views are in *a false position* in our Church, and consequently are continually driven into all sorts of inconsistencies and offenses against truth. And no declamatory asseverations of their doctrines being the genuine doctrines of the Church of England can deceive any who give the slightest attention to the subject, and desire to know the truth. They com-

menced with a profession of slavish submission to bishops; and their doctrine demands it of them. Their conduct is the very reverse, to a degree that make us compare it with thankfulness with that of the supposed undervaluers of the Episcopate, the, to use the ordinary name, Evangelical body, towards other prelates in past times. Their *Catenas* parade with the most unblushing effrontery the names of divines who have directly and clearly opposed their views, as of advocates in their favor. The interpretation they are compelled to give to our Articles and Formularies (to say nothing of the veil of secrecy thrown over their practices) is such as to make the more honest among their disciples writhe under the consciousness of the duplicity of the course marked out for them. This is not the mere accusation of an opponent; it is the confession of those who have belonged to them. Witness (to refer to no other authority) the pamphlet, not long since published, entitled *The Morality of Tractarianism*. Whenever they have tried their ground before a public tribunal, they have been utterly defeated. In the face of facts like these, frothy declamations, protesting that they are the true exponents of the doctrine of the Church of England, will deceive none but those who wish to be deceived.



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